

**The Evolution of Socio-Political Cartoon Satire in the New Zealand
Press During the 19th and Early 20th centuries : its Role in
Justifying the Alienation of Maori Lands .**

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by

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Abstract

This thesis examines the evolution of socio-political cartoon satire and how it came to be used as a weapon in the Pakeha media campaign to facilitate the total alienation of Maori land in New Zealand in the nineteenth century and the first three decades of the Twentieth century.

The thesis begins by examining the role of key media controllers and relevant elements of their backgrounds. Outstanding from among these elements is the initial overlap of the business and political interests of the key players. Intrinsic to this overlap is the split which occurred from about the 1860s. This split saw certain media controllers divorce themselves from direct political involvement in order to pursue an agenda which necessarily included the unfettered and total alienation of Maori land and the resources contained on, in and around them.

In particular, the thesis focuses on Wilson and Horton, leading Auckland provincial as well as national media controllers who, by 1900, were pushing the message of total land alienation through two publications: the daily New Zealand Herald on the provincial level and the weekly Auckland Weekly News on both a provincial and national basis.

The evolution and rise of socio-political cartoons and their use in the above and other publications will be discussed in depth - particularly the work of artist Trevor Lloyd over the period 1902 to 1930. Lloyd, who produced a prolific supply of cartoons, dramatically encapsulated Wilson and Horton's campaign to justify the total alienation of Maori land. Lloyd's work was used to drive home the message that Maori were, apparently, not able to manage their own affairs and that their lands would be better managed by the Pakeha.

Trevor Lloyd's replacement by Gordon Minhinick in 1930 will be shown to coincide with the shift in attention by Wilson and Horton, and the media generally, away from land alienation toward socialism and unions as virtual alienation of Maori land had been achieved by 1930. The core economic elite, therefore, turned to confront that more considerable threat to the fulfilment of the larger agenda which is identified within the thesis.

Preface

I chose the topic of socio-political cartoons for this thesis because, during the time I was completing my history honours research paper entitled "The Ethnographic and Cultural depiction of the Maori on the Penny Postcard", I realised that virtually all printed material concerning Maori and their cultures was controlled by Pakeha. Indeed, there were many private photographers. However, most of their work was geographically limited with the exception of perhaps the work of Muir and Moodie Ltd. of Dunedin. I noticed that cartoon postcards, especially, were reproductions of popular cartoons which appeared in publications like the Auckland Weekly News, the New Zealand Herald and the New Zealand Graphic. In some cases, these postcards came attached as giveaways to purchasers. Such was the case with the Graphic. A very large percentage of these cartoons and photographs depicted Maori as clowns, savages, drunks, layabouts and as being generally uncivilised people who were holding up Pakeha progress by not allowing anymore of their land to be alienated. Such material, unlike locally produced postcards, circulated nationally and, in the case of cartoon postcards, were almost always reproduced following publication in a large circulation media publication - usually Wilson and Horton's. I therefore requested permission from the University of Canterbury history department to pursue my research into these cartoons at their source: the news media.

My research has been hampered by the dearth of secondary source material available in this country concerning a phenomenon unique to this country: cartoon satire about Pakeha/Maori relations. This makes for a weakness in this thesis which cannot be avoided. In some cases, phone calls to the key media company discussed in this thesis to obtain information only resulted in my being told such information was not available or that it was lost. I was advised by the New Zealand Herald that much material was lost in a fire in the mid 1920s. The secondary sources which are available serve more to reinforce the primary source material - much of which I uncovered myself. Examples of these are postcards, which I discovered after many visits to postal history dealers, which depict cartoons that were printed following their initial releases in the news media. Some of these cards are remarkable because I specifically pursued postcards with texts written by the purchasers which referred to the illustration on the front of the card. The remarks were usually of a racist nature which Paul Spoonley defines as "prejudice plus power" in Racism and Ethnicity. These cards are primary source evidence of the *effects* which the media campaign to perpetuate negative images of the Maori were having on Pakeha society.

Just as I came to focus upon Wilson and Horton as the main media controller, I came to focus upon Trevor Lloyd as the cartoon messenger par excellence. Whatever facets of Lloyd's personal life which exist and have never been previously available to secondary source writers, I have copies of in my possession. These consist of an unpublished Manuscript of Lloyd's family history and life written by his great nephew Trevor Lloyd of Wellington to whom I am very grateful and a collection of original letters written by the cartoonist himself to his favourite daughter in 1924. That collection was made available by the only living relative to have known Lloyd, his niece, 93 year old Violet May Bryant to whom I am particularly indebted. Mrs. Bryant also provided oral evidence and two other personal manuscripts personally checked by Dick Scott, Author of Ask that Mountain. In spite of all of this material, and only compounding the dearth of in-depth secondary source material on cartoonists, is the lack of material which sheds light on views about the function of the cartoonist - especially in Lloyd's personal letters. Nevertheless, the material has aided my research in a way that secondary sources could not provide by virtue of the fact that it does not exist in that form.

It needs to be seen therefore that this thesis is ground-breaking work to a larger degree than is normal in a Master's thesis in that primary rather than secondary source material forms the backbone of what is presented out of necessity. Secondary sources are used wherever possible to support the main argument within the context of what is being said. I have taken a risk in pursuing work which is necessarily daunting for the reasons stated. I thank the University of Canterbury history department for giving me permission to pursue this research. I especially thank my respected kaiako, Dr. Anne Parsonson for her faith in me and her support. Acquiring knowledge sometimes requires taking calculated risks. I have, to the best of my ability, attempted to provide insights into the role that cartoon satire played in the alienation of Maori land and the reasons why the evidence available indicates that it such an agenda was implemented and pursued.

INTRODUCTION

"Possess yourselves of the soil and you are secure"

Edward Gibbon Wakefield

The profitable employment of socio-political cartoon satire as an instrument for directing and influencing public opinion to the benefit of those possessing the real power in New Zealand society finds its origins in the "Fourth Estate": the press.

How such satire came to be used in the New Zealand context for the purpose of alienating Maori lands is the main focus of this thesis. This period stretches from 1852 to the early 1930's. During this evolution, public perceptions were shaped or altered by such satire. This "shaping" strategy aided both the transference and implementation of well-tested media tools from England to New Zealand to assist the alienation of Maori lands. Socio-political cartoon satire was numbered among these tools.

In a new colony, English socio-political cartoon satire, to a very large degree, came to be redefined and adapted for use in a unique set of circumstances: that of Maori/Pakeha relations. Outside of the New Zealand context there were, of course, other settler societies which interacted with indigenous peoples other than Maori. However, each interaction should be considered as unique and requiring separate investigation. The main reason for this must be that each culture exists or existed as a separate phenomenon. Each cultural group would have reacted differently to each set of given circumstances in their dealings with

Europeans, their ideas and technology.

To understand how Maori were treated by the Pakeha press and how that press viewed Maori land, an examination of certain aspects of the development of the press in England prior to the settlement of this country is necessary. Indeed, the development of the press in England appears to be inextricably bound to the development of the press in New Zealand. As well, England is the birthplace of the term "cartoon" and it evolved in the press in the mother country before being transplanted and used in the New Zealand context.

Initially, the development of the press in England was part of a power struggle which was essentially between the nobility and evolving capitalists within the rising middle class (1). The capitalist class eventually attained economic and political preeminence. The use of the press appears to have been a crucial instrument in this transition of power. When some members of this new elite emigrated to New Zealand, the transplanted upwardly aspiring middle class was joined by a working class which also had, or acquired, upward social and economic aspirations. This latter group was developing a class consciousness in the wake of the expansion of the industrial revolution in Britain. In addition to these groups, it can also be said that there was a group which still had connections with the nobility and/or the landed gentry in Britain. It can be said that this group carried

a vision of establishing great estates in the new colony of New Zealand. Ownership of land was a necessary component part of satisfying the aspirations of all of these classes of British migrants in New Zealand.

To achieve the ownership of land on the scale which the new, upwardly aspiring settlers desired, a new power struggle developed in New Zealand. This was to be a struggle which involved the Crown and land-hungry settlers of all classes. The main conflict was over who was to control the acquisition and supply of the colony's most valuable commodity - land. In the Pakeha mind, was also another consideration - *exploitation* of the resource wealth contained *within* that land. This may be contrasted to the Maori view of the land's richness for its ability to regenerate and produce *perpetually* without regard to short term financial gain. The plan of the new elite to transfer the ownership of Maori land to Pakeha control necessarily involved a negative transformation. This transformation would prove to be an irreversible ecological despoliation which had a disastrous impact on Maori traditional uses. These lands, productive in the Maori sense, were ostensibly labelled "waste lands" by the British generally. However, the clamour by settlers for this land belied the label which was applied to it.

The cause of Pakeha immigrants was orchestrated through the new settler press. These publications were, in the main, controlled

by the new economic elite in the colony. It was this group that stood to benefit most from gaining political office through the influence of their papers. Such influences would ultimately allow implementation of policies which would permit an almost unrestricted acquisition and resale of Maori lands.

The catchcry which the new press in New Zealand used was the same one used by earlier English media controllers. Here, as in England, these men gained political office by influencing public opinion through their newspapers (2). The catchcry was "liberty"! It appears that the "liberty" of which these men spoke, however, was the liberty to pursue *laissez faire* capitalism. The self determination necessary for such a pursuit in New Zealand was propelled forward by the use of a similar vehicle to that which was used in England from the 18th century onwards. That vehicle was the general population of England, sometimes called "the masses". However, the "driving wheel" was the press.

Newspapers began in England as class journals. These generally supported the status quo - the nobility. However, the rise of the middle classes from the 17th century precipitated a power struggle which proceeded within a context of general social order following the Civil War. This power struggle was, in effect, a war of words. The weapons were ideologies. The armies were the various social groups who had to be won over, or, who already adhered to those ideologies. The vehicles of influence were

newspapers. To the victors would fall the prize of economic dominance. From this period, the press of the rising elite, the so-called "fourth estate", began to develop the strategy of influencing and directing the opinion of the general populace in order to effect the desired social changes which would facilitate their economic ascendancy. This influence was dispensed in measured doses calculated not to upset the general peace of the nation following the Civil war. There is a salient reason for this: the "fourth estate", while they saw the nobility as their main competitor for real control of the nation's potential wealth, still agreed with their rivals that "the supreme threat came from below" (3). Maintaining control by learning how to influence and direct public opinion began to be recognised as a lever of power. That is perhaps why the first English newspaper to be independent of Crown influence, the Daily Courant, began, from 1702, to publish in the common dialect. This was a clean break away from the traditionally targeted but narrow audience of professional persons and the educated elite. Other independent papers soon followed suit.

Despite the lower classes being perceived as the "supreme threat", the strategy of the rising elite evolved necessarily toward educating that class to embrace an ideology of work and consumption. The coming industrial revolution would prove to be the ultimate weapon in shifting effective power away from the nobility and the landed. The passage of time would prove that

the general masses, not just workers - anyone with even a farthing in their pocket - were members of the biggest potential market for accumulating a vast pool of wealth piecemeal. The beauty of it was that the labour was supplied by the end market itself.

It was also rightly seen by the rising elite that concomitant with the eventual accumulation and consolidation of a financial foundation, there could come an acquisition of influence which could result in an accommodation with the aristocracy. The simplest explanation for this accommodation appears to be that armed revolution or, even extreme social dislocation, is anathema to progressive capital accumulation. In effect, what the rising middle classes sought, and generally achieved, in both England and New Zealand through the effective use of the press were bloodless coups. Social order was kept intact while, at the same time, a transition of real power - capital - moved to the new elite of the middle classes: the industrialists and the financiers.

In England, it had been realised by the nobility from the 17th century that, through the press, the masses were potentially a weapon which could be turned against them. At this early stage, the masses were initially perceived to be a threat to the social and financial aspirations of rising capitalists as well. However, that latter realisation was made before the full potential value

of *directing* mass opinion became evident to the rising media entrepreneurs - especially those in the press. Perhaps the new capitalists had their vision of the potential of the masses obscured because those who still held the real power in England had placed in the "statute books numberless attempts to prevent the growing power" of that part of the press which represented the interests of the Fourth Estate and "restrain[ed] them within some bounds" (4). Such restriction delayed realisation of the role which the general population had to play in order to facilitate transference of effective power to the capitalists of the rising middle class.

From the 17th century then, it can be said that media controllers of the rising middle class in England began to move toward more direct involvement in politics. They tended to favour laws which provided for a societal structure that allowed for free newspaper development and influence. Early media controllers of the rising elite set about attaining the influence and the power which was necessary to implement laws that decided and directed access to *real knowledge* based upon class (5). Their ideology endorsed a status quo that was evolving steadily toward *laissez faire* capitalism. Toward this end there existed in the core of that media "a certain uniformity in style and approach" (5). The development of alternative ideologies which had a braking effect upon steady capital accumulation was apparently viewed as anathema to this form of "progress".

An early legislative attempt to control the proliferation of "people's" papers was the imposition of a four penny stamp tax: the Stamp Tax of 1712. It was levied on newspapers, journals and periodicals. What this amounted to was a "tax on Knowledge" (7) which was a financial barrier that could normally only be overcome by education. However, education was generally a preserve of the rising and established elites. The tax was not withdrawn in Britain until 1855, being delayed by such influential figures as Lord Chancellor Henry Brougham. He argued in 1833 that the repeal of the act, by making knowledge freely available, would "precipitate a revolution"(8). Lord Brougham's attitude was expressive of a fear which was older than the Stamp Tax itself. Indeed, almost from the introduction of the impost, "unstamped" publications began to mushroom. This defiance was as a result of the dramatic changes which were taking place in the infrastructure of British society from the late 18th century. These infrastructural changes saw

almost every group with a shared objective [becoming] directly involved in newspaper or periodical publication at local or national level[s] (9).

By the 19th century, with much of the work force alienated from the land and the industrial revolution forcing further changes to the structure of English society, many salient issues came to be expressed through an emerging alternative media in England. A pattern began to emerge in England which the new media

controllers in New Zealand would attempt to discourage here. The pattern in Britain saw

pressure groups [being] set up to promote specific reform [and these groups] became increasingly involved in the publication of periodicals (10).

It was realised that whilst many of these issues, such as temperance, the abolition of slavery, women's suffrage and workers' rights were popular issues and profit could be made from them, the issues could not be allowed to threaten the foundations of the society itself. Hence the quest for ways in which public opinion could be controlled and directed, profits could be made and the general status quo maintained. The English media catered to almost every class and interest - albeit under a general imposition of order and direction. Still, there was friction which these more non-traditional papers and journals caused between and within the class groupings.

By 1840 there had evolved in England a huge diversity of media publications. These could be said to have catered for almost every social and class interest group. However, it needs to be said that, despite this diversity, the core press, which included many capitalists of the middle class, had provided "recurrent support for the establishment"(11) as it had evolved to that point.

By 1841, the first newspapers were being printed in the infant

colony of New Zealand. It was clearly acknowledged that the press, the "fourth estate", had, by this time, come to fully appreciate the value of a directed public opinion as a force for change. The power of the press itself had come into its own as a force to be reckoned with - indeed, to be bargained with. In England, at the very time at which the New Zealand press was being founded, it was being said:

that there [are] three estates in Parliament. But, in the reporters' gallery...there the fourth estate are more important than [the other three] are (12).

The model of the press which ultimately came to be employed in New Zealand during the 1840s and 50s was one which was, essentially, English. In such a model, the role of a directive press was "a means of consolidating support and projecting opinion" (13). In New Zealand, as it had been in 17th century England, this control was intended to be restricted "very largely [to] political insiders whose Parliamentary manoevers lay at the heart of their newspaper interests" (14).

In New Zealand, a first priority was simply to make newspapers pay. This was not always easy in a fledgling colony with far-flung, sparsely populated settlements, lack of a communications infrastructure and sporadic transportation services. Secondly, the eventual Maori opposition to the status quo which came to prevail in New Zealand, did not afford Pakeha media controllers the luxury of pursuing general media diversification until the

1860's. By contrast, in Britain, by 1840, "papers of all kinds" (15) already existed whilst the New Zealand press was only in its infancy. The founders of the newspaper industry in New Zealand took heed of the emergence of non-traditional papers in England dealing with issues of reform. With this experience in mind, they generally stuck to the business of pursuing the issues which would profit their vision of an ideal society and make that vision a reality all the sooner.

The early settlers, despite their differing backgrounds, came to New Zealand from Britain with a wide experience of the press. They were, in the main, literate with upwardly mobile aspirations - both socially and economically. They carried with them a desire for land and consumer goods. They were a ready market. Newspapers were pivotal devices for firstly, inculcating the ideology of the elite, and then, attracting these individuals for the purpose of transplanting them to what, it was believed, was to be an ideal world. Once in the colony, the new settlers would be kept informed via the newspapers of the goods and services which, it was hoped, would be available. When a ship arrived, many papers went as far as listing the cargo so that settlers could plan their purchasing accordingly. But, above all else, it was land in abundance of land which was expected. Settlers looked forward to notice of its availability, location and price in their newspaper.

The so-called "radical" newspapermen who had initially challenged the nobility's hold on power in Britain from the 18th century had, as their parallel in New Zealand, the new media controllers. These men, through their newspapers, successfully led opposition to the manner in which they perceived that the Crown was acquiring and distributing land in the 1840s and 50s. Many of these newspaper controllers came to form a strong, influential block in the new Colonial Government. In turn, the emergent Maori newspapers which rose in opposition to the policies pursued by the new elite once they acquired effective control of the colony, themselves became the so-called "radical" publications. The core press in New Zealand came to actively suppress the interests of those whom they were simultaneously dispossessing of their lands and cultures: the Maori peoples. As such, it could be said that the development of the press in England became proving ground for the self-interested *laissez faire* capitalism which was subsequently transplanted to New Zealand from around 1840.

The new elite of the rising middle classes had little to fear from a press that was published largely by themselves. Just as the media became the mouthpiece of the capitalists in Britain, so did it become in the new colonies. Any apparent divisions in the core press, both in the British and the Colonial context, were generally just

internal divisions of a ruling class...The notion of the press providing a nonpartisan leadership in the interests

of the community as a whole is ideological(16).

The rapidly developing industrial and commercial economies in New Zealand eventually provided newspaper publishers with revenue from advertising which, by the main period under study, 1900 to 1939, allowed daily newspapers to be sold cheaply at a price of one penny. Both in Britain and New Zealand, core press publications carried all of the social and political issues which media controllers alone deemed to be "newsworthy". These were carefully presented and targeted to appeal to particular mass audiences. They were also presented in such a way as to maintain the momentum of the upward ascendancy of the capitalists.

To avoid the danger of over-generalisation in saying this, I will underline my last assertion. In the process, I will also emphasise my assertions about the capitalist agenda generally. Finally, I will give some indication as to how this strategy impacted upon Maori lands and resources in the New Zealand context. The example I will use is the process that newspaper publication itself employed in the past and which, it can be shown, it still employs. While it is by no means the sole cause, the example which follows is, perhaps, an ultimate expression of the capitalist ideology.

The example is that, from 1840, newspapers in New Zealand had been being published mainly weekly. However, by the period 1900

to 1939, newspapers in New Zealand had been published on a daily basis in every main centre for over a quarter of a century. Such frequency of publication causes a huge demand for raw materials. Indeed, a newspaper is the end-product of a large and complex industrial process which involves capital, people, plant, machinery and raw materials. In basic terms, this means land and resources. The conflicts which arose out of the pursuit of such necessities of industry are at the very heart of the problems which are to be focused on in this thesis.

Newspapers, simply by setting out to report upon the "issues" in the infant colony of New Zealand, established that they had such basic material needs. In the minds of Pakeha entrepreneurs, the primary "issue" then was to establish who was to exercise dominion over the source of these basic needs: New Zealand's lands and forests. These were also the "issues" which were foremost in the minds of settlers: the desire for land and a slice of the resources "pie". These initial Pakeha concerns provided both topicality and immediacy to newspaper articles and, later, socio-political cartoons. Indeed, newspaper publishers understood that the main reason that most settlers were coming to New Zealand was in the pursuit of a "liberty" ideal which, it was believed, could only be attained through land and resource ownership. Settlers simply wanted land and economic prosperity. They could not understand the Crown's apparent demurring from alienating large tracts of Maori "waste" lands from its reticent

sellers in the aftermath of land deals gone sour during the first decade of Crown administration.

With regard to such issues, the media controllers can direct and influence and take a dominant role in perpetuating the issue over a long period - even generations. Cranfield asks the question: "do newspapers guide and mould public opinion - or do they merely reflect it?" (17). He states that it is a question which presents a dilemma to historians of the newspaper press. Cranfield helps narrow the focus, however, by also stating that the much of English press - the model from which the New Zealand press emerged - was moulded by the opinions of a:

new aristocracy of wealth, steadily gaining in economic power but poorly represented in Parliament and increasingly politically-minded (18).

Many of those persons of means transferred to New Zealand more than merely the opinions that they held in England. They brought their opinions in a form which was one step away from becoming concrete: they brought aspirations which they were bent on making a reality - the "ideal" society.

Through the press, the new elite directed public opinion. The intention was, perhaps, to let public opinion be allowed to develop so that it would have more of an effect on topicality than upon determining the course which events were actually being be directed in. A major factor affecting this was the imbalance

which exists as a result of the media in New Zealand coming to be owned and controlled by a small, yet powerful, interest group whose own agenda has become the more dominant one. William Berry, who was the editor from 1875 until 1903 of what became New Zealand's largest circulation newspaper, The New Zealand Herald, epitomised the expansionist ideology of the colonial elite in his editorials. These will be discussed further in chapter three. It needs to be said at this point, however, that Berry stated that the prime objective of the press was to use its journalistic influences to "crystallise" public opinion (19). This "crystallisation", it will be shown, intends that the general public be conditioned into being consumers of information, ideas and consumers of material goods. It does not intend that they be the group which consciously decides which issues will determine political, social and economic policy outcomes. The general public appear only to determine, to some extent, whether some issues will retain their topicality or not and the tenor and pace of policy decisions related to the issues of the day.

This is where the functioning of an effective media organisation plays its part by acting to mould, unify and perpetuate ideas, or to divide opinion relating to issues it deems to be of importance. In essence, what is involved here is understanding how the media operates in effecting these responses and how its strategies are to be used in influencing and directing public opinions. This implies a tactic which is:

primarily concerned with how values are formed in the first place and, secondarily, how they are mediated by the concrete situation and the practice of the press. (20)

The practice spoken of, as it existed and exists in New Zealand, has evolved from a media methodology and a class ideology that have their roots solidly in English soil.

FOOTNOTES :

(1) Michael Harris and Alan Lee, The Press in English Society from the 17th to 19th Centuries, Farleigh Dickinson University Press, London and Toronto 1986, p.108

(2) Patrick Day, The Making of the New Zealand Press 1840-1880, Victoria University Press, Wellington, 1990, pp 6 & 91

Michael Harris and Alan Lee, The Press in English Society from the 17th to 19th Centuries, p.108

* Day states that "many [in politics] had been involved [in the media] not because of a desire to be journalists...In New Zealand [media controllers'] occupation[s] gave them a political prominence". Harris and Lee's position is quoted in the text as footnote #7

(3) G.A.Cranfield, The Press and Society : From Caxton to Northcliffe, Longman Group Ltd., London, 1978, p.120

(4) Henry Fielding, Covent Garden Journal, #47, 13 June 1752

(5) Michael Harris and Alan Lee, The Press in English Society from the 17th to 19th Centuries, p.108

(6) Ibid, p.107

(7) Ibid, p.108

(8) G.A. Cranfield- The Press and Society, Longman, London and New York 1978, p.139

(9) Michael Harris and Alan Lee- The Press in English Society from the 17th to the 19th Centuries, p.108

(10) Ibid, p.108

(11) Ibid, p.23

(12) Thomas Carlyle- "Hero Worship", Lecture V, 1841

**A correspondent of Notes and Queries (Series 1, Vol IX, #452) actually attributed this quote to Edmund Burke and stated that it was used in the House of Commons by the Lord Chancellor Henry Brougham in either 1823 or 1824

- (13) Michael Harris and Allan Lee, The Press in English Society from the 17th to 19th Centuries, p.108
- (14) Ibid p.108
- (15) Ibid, p.109
- (16) Patrick Day- The Making of the New Zealand Press 1840-1880, pp. 237 and 240
- (17) G.A. Cranfield, The Press and Society: From Caxton to Northcliffe, p. 154
- (18) Ibid
- (19) New Zealand Herald, Editorial, 10 January 1901
- (20) S.W.Bradley, Newspapers: An Analysis of the Press in New Zealand (Heinemann Educational, Auckland 1973) , p.2

CHAPTER ONE

The Early Media Controllers Establish their Agenda 1839-1880

"He kura tangata e kore e rokohanga;
He kura whenua ka rokohanga"

"The treasured possessions of men are intangible;
the treasures of the land, tangible"

New Zealand's first newspaper was the New Zealand Gazette and Wellington Spectator. This publication was established in 1839. It is notable that the inaugural issues of this settler newspaper were published in London as the New Zealand Gazette. It was there that it served as a propaganda sheet encouraging potential settlers to approach the New Zealand Company for land. That company was established according to the principles of systematic colonisation publicised by Edward Gibbon Wakefield. Wakefield and others comprising the New Zealand Land Company (as it was initially called) sought to establish an ideal English Society by purchasing land from the Maori cheaply, on-selling it to settlers for a relatively high price and, ostensibly, to use that surplus to bring in labourers to help build the "new" world based on the traditional agrarian ideal which prevailed in the English corn counties (1).

The Gazette was transported to New Zealand, arriving there in 1840. In its inaugural New Zealand edition of 18 April 1840, it was claimed that Maori would share a "perfect equality" with new settlers - except for the vote. From this early period in Maori/Pakeha relations, it appears apparent that the cultural

baggage of British "superiority" implied that "perfect" meant that the British knew best what was good for the Maori - that the British would make policy decisions for the Maori. Perhaps for that reason, the vote was not considered, by the Pakeha, to be necessary for Maori.

Little more than one month after the first London edition of the Gazette was released on 21 August 1839, an auction sale was held there on 24 September 1839. The sale was of "suburban acres and town lots...within the city of Wellington" (2). The broadsheet which advertised the auction boasted of "a land of promise". There, it was said, enormous profits awaited settler and speculator alike:

It may be well to remind the little capitalist that...vast gain...appears an indispensable appendage to these purchases... (3)

The press, at its founding in New Zealand then, advocated two things. Explicitly, it advocated the principles of *laissez faire* capitalism. Implicitly, it advocated the unrestricted alienation of Maori land through pursuing land purchase deals without full regard for ascertainment of true ownership or whether the Maori understood land transactions in the same way that Pakeha did (4). Of the 856 New Zealand Company settlers who departed from Gravesend on 18 Sept 1839 in the *Adelaide*, *Aurora* and *Oriental*, 152 are described as having been "capitalists" (5). Among these *nouveau entrepreneurs* was Samuel Revans, the proprietor and

editor of New Zealand's first newspaper, the Gazette. Revans has thus come to be described as "the father of the New Zealand press" (6).

In the first propaganda exercise to be printed in this nation's first newspaper, Revans published the text of the document which was alleged by Colonel William Wakefield, Principal Agent of the New Zealand Company, to be a "ratification" agreement which had been signed by the local Maori chiefs from around Port Nicholson. This "document" purportedly ratified both the conditions of the 1839 Company's "deeds" of "purchase" of Port Nicholson and of Pakeha settlement generally. However, effective dispossession of the Maori around Port Nicholson came with the 1840 Agreement between the Crown and the New Zealand Company which secured to the Company sufficient lands in New Zealand for its settlers, in accordance with a formula agreed on between the parties. In reality, the "Ratification" itself was simply an attempt by the settlers to secure their position on Maori lands at Port Nicholson. Surveyors invaded and pegged out pa, kainga and cultivations of the Maori, but that appeared to have been overlooked by Revans. Indeed, when the Crown declared the alleged "agreement" illegal on the grounds that it alone held exclusive rights to pre-emption, Revans, acting in concert with the Council of Colonists, withheld this crucial Crown decision from publication (7).

It was not mere coincidence that "the father of the New Zealand press" had come to settle in the new colony. Revans already possessed the experience of founding a newspaper in another British colony. This prototype New Zealand media controller had founded British North America's first *daily* newspaper, the Montreal Star-Advertiser, thirty years before a daily even appeared in this country. He was an ideal candidate to aid Edward Gibbon Wakefield in the pursuit of his "ideal" society - a "New Old England" which would be systematically colonised by carefully selected immigrants (8). The funding for this was expected to be provided by Colonel William Wakefield's acquisition of Maori land for settlement via dubious - even fraudulent agreements - and his peppercorn payments for that land.

Revans had met E.G.Wakefield in London and is said to have been won over by colonising theories (9). However, things appear to be a bit simpler than that. Bluntly stated, Revans was both an opportunist and an avid adherent of the *laissez faire* capitalist ideology. Within a few years of arriving in the new colony, Revans had considerable business interests. These included:

- * a timber yard at Port Nicholson
- * several dairy stations
- * a meat company
- * Directorship of the Steam Sawmill Company
- * Livery interests. (10)

Revans' control of both a newspaper and other business interests is a pattern which came to be repeated in other settlements. In fact, it came to be a dominant feature in the personal profiles of future media controllers in the colony. While it has been stated that, regarding business, Revans "speculated for the pleasure of playing the game" (11), Gazette policy was "always consistent on the major issues" (12). In 1840, the "major issue" was land; the land which E.G. Wakefield had told settlers to "possess themselves of and be secure". Revans, like many of his other media successors, was consistent on the "major issue" because that is where speculation paid the most dividends.

The demographics and geography of colonial New Zealand are directly linked to approaches and methods which were used by media controllers to reach and influence the populace. In addition, newspaper expansion appears to have run parallel with demographic and geographical factors. As with settler expansion, the evolution and growth of newspapers was also local, provincial and, finally, national. A classic example of these parallels is the growth of the Otago Daily Times. It was produced in response to the population explosion in Otago after gold was discovered at Tuapeka. A special hand worked cylinder press was imported to replace the old press of the ODT's parent company the Witness. In 1855, the Witness could only count upon 210 subscribers. With the gold rush and going daily, the ODT, circulation jumped to 2750. By 1862 a steam powered press

replaced the hand operated machine and circulation was at over 7000. The population of New Zealand in 1840 was initially small. However, it was largely a literate population. This was due, in part, to the New Zealand Company's being forced to pursue a pre-emigration selection process made necessary by a Colonial Office who enforced a Crown principle requirement that a colony's government be "self-supporting" (13). In that way, colonies should not become a burden upon the British taxpayer. Rather, they would become profitable ventures. This was one of the few goals which the Crown and the New Zealand Company appear to have shared.

While newspapers were initially relatively expensive at one shilling per single weekly copy, enough papers were sold, or, at least read, for most publications to survive and for the desired messages to be transmitted. Where a newspaper did fail, there were usually others to take their place within a short space of time.

Despite some of the disadvantages that early publishers faced, the hunger for news in isolated settlements in a very isolated colony presented media controllers with an ideal environment in which to educate or influence communities on social, economic and political matters. Newspapers were, firstly, a chief instrument of colonisation itself in that they spread the kind of "good news" which attracted desirable emigrants. They were,

secondly, an instrument by which those with an agenda could influence and direct public opinion. Within a relatively short space of time, the media became the de facto political representatives of colonists. It was from this position of real strength that media controllers agitated against the Crown Colony Government established in 1840, pushing for a system of self government which would transfer the power to alienate Maori lands to a political force which included not a few of their number. From this time, the clarion call which began to issue forth from most newspapers not under Crown influence was for liberty and self-government.

The consistency with which the main media controllers pursued the themes of land acquisition and self-government acted to give them integrity in the eyes of the general Pakeha public. This consistency stemmed from the attempt which was made by most media controllers to replicate their publications on what they considered was the *ideal* British model - the London Times (14). That paper had built its reputation upon consistency, authoritativeness and coordination of news items. By combining these positive attributes with the opportunity to educate settlers in an environment where few checks or balances existed, the press played a crucial role in setting in motion a process by which the Maori could eventually be stripped of the remainder of their lands, their resources and, finally, their cultures.

In this early period, socio-political cartoon satire had yet to evolve in the New Zealand press. In the absence of this, the media relied upon both straight and "creative" journalistic practice to lobby the Colonial Office and the British Parliament for self government. At the same time, newspapers prepared settlers for a kind of liberty which is central to the success of capitalism. This "liberty" was based upon the wholesale exploitation of mainly Maori owned lands and resources in order to cater to a *particular* type of "freedom". This type of agency is sometimes referred to as consumerism. The problem was, and still is, that in the course of this process, someone had to lose. A concerted media campaign was mounted in the 1840s and continued almost without respite well into the 20th century (15). This campaign resulted in the communal holdings of Maori land being broken up, diluted or simply alienated.

It has been argued by such scholars as Patricia Burns that the general public have gone as far as believing the press to be omnipotent (16). Firstly, there was a general settler perception that many newspapers fought for the same things which settlers desired: land and self-government. Secondly, the press also acted as a public forum. Through its pages, settlers could, at times, air their grievances against the Colonial Office and Crown land policies generally. This reinforced, to a large extent, a belief that such publications mirrored the needs of its readers. The question is, however, did the press *genuinely*

mirror settler needs or did it manipulate them? After all, those who established the press in New Zealand brought with them a solid foundation of ideological values. These values only required modifications relative to New Zealand socio-political conditions to produce positive results for media controllers and the social elite. Such a strategy, it is my position, was used to eventually propel many of the initial media controllers into public office once their ceaseless campaign to attain self-government was achieved in two stages: first, under the Constitution Act of 1852 and, then, in 1856 with the implementation of responsible government.

The political and media campaigns also included the laying of an ideological foundation to support the justifications which would come to be used in media texts regarding the alienation of Maori lands. It can be shown that there is evidence to support the argument that getting prime Maori lands into Pakeha hands was simply an economic strategy for the future. It can further be shown that a strategy clearly appears to have existed to eventually facilitate land alienation to *include* even the average Pakeha settler and consolidate it into the hands of the economic elite. In examining this problem, historically there has been a tendency to omit mention of this alienation process on the South Island Maori. By the 1853 elections, most South Island tribal lands had *already* been alienated. Media controllers who were would-be politicians in the South Island,

therefore, did not stress the importance of that issue to the same degree that their North Island counterpart would have. However, in the South Island, the Ngai Tahu nevertheless demanded more reserves and access to their traditional mahinga kai food gathering areas. The result was a considerable and enduring friction between the peoples there. In the face of any stark political divisions which did exist in these early days, such as provincial rivalries, pursuit of Maori land appears to have been the one item on most political agendas in the North with support for that pursuit coming from the South where practically all Maori land had already been taken.

Concomitant with the alienation agenda and the rush for economic independence and self government, a special care was taken, through the press, that promoted the coming new political representatives. These were men who were mostly from among the transplanted economic elite and media controllers. The press helped assure they had their places in the new order secured. Secondly, care was taken to find ways to encourage the growth of their vision of the "ideal" society based upon the pursuit of *laissez faire* capitalist ideology. An example of the selectivity process in action concerns the main issues of land and self-government. During the Crown Colony years from 1840 to 1852 especially, "independence" was seen as a necessary component part of the pursuit of unfettered land dealings and development, but not the sort of independence which could threaten the new

social order. Newspapers therefore did not air most settler grievances; just carefully selected ones. The paramount consideration here was the maintenance of social order above all else:

Independence...was...important because...policy was to promote...settlement by every means. [However] the primary concern...was the order and life of the...community (17). Indeed, what was being cultivated appears to have been a social order which would make the transition from a Crown administration to media-controller dominated settler self-government a smooth one.

At times, there were criticisms of leading settler figures in the settler newspapers. In most cases, these criticisms were levelled by media controllers who had previously been emphatic supporters of those persons. However, these public carpings were not allowed to alter the core character of what the press represented: *laissez faire* capitalism (18). Such public criticisms by media controllers were merely the product of struggles for power within the dominant social group which were allowed to spill out into the public arena. They were labelled as "democratic" and a healthy part of the political process. At times, the power which the media controllers wielded was made evident in instances where they chose to make particular disagreements between leading figures public domain. An example is an exchange between Samuel Revans and William Wakefield when,

in 1844, Wakefield passed over Revans for the position of Acting Agent for the New Zealand Company. Revans responded to the snub by publishing an editorial on 28 August of that year in which he attacked the Company's Principal Agent for a lack of energy that Revans described as "chronic laziness".

It is nevertheless evident that such disagreements between such prominent leaders were not meant to destabilise progress. On the contrary, such conflicts were directed by the media towards accelerating it. Having the press as a leveraging tool of public opinion meant that media controllers could direct or influence those opinions to support chosen policies and agendas of the would-be leaders of the new colony.

During this period, there is evidence that *laissez faire* commercial development and land exploitation were not necessarily meant to hamper Maori progress. To many settlers and policy-makers, the reverse was believed to be true. A dominant propagandism of the New Zealand Company was that settlers would be "reclaiming and cultivating a moral wilderness" and that they would be "civilising a barbarous people scarcely cultivating the earth but who have a peculiar aptitude for being improved by intercourse with civilisation" (19). All that Maori had to do in order to progress, it was believed, was to embrace British laws, customs, religion, language and social habits. In other words, to be passively assimilated for their own good. On top of this,

many prominent British parliamentarians including Secretaries of state Lord Russell and Earl Grey adhered to a particular interpretation of the Treaty of Waitangi. This view held that any lands in New Zealand that were not being physically occupied and used by the Maori were "waste lands". In effect, therefore, they should simply be "available" to be declared Crown land and utilised for whatever use the pursuit of progress demanded. This was to mean that, in the eyes of the Pakeha, the land should be given up by the Maori "for the public good" on the basis that "Maori had no right to land they could not utilise"(20). This message was not challenged by the press; rather, it was reinforced. Perhaps the one thing which might be said in defence of this approach was the general ignorance which prevailed in Pakeha society regarding Maori relationships with their land and the Maori interpretation of early land transactions. It appears that it was not understood that, in reality, chiefs were entering into transactions about the use of that land. The Pakeha tenancy which followed served as a justification of the Maori owners' rights to that land as against those of other Maori.

It is here that there can be seen a main point of divergence between the two British factions: the Crown on the one hand, which had established sovereignty, and the new elite who used settler anger over shortages of land to push for a form self-government so that they would gain control of lands and

resources. That said, it does not alter the fact that the general Maori perception was that the Treaty of Waitangi guaranteed their rangatiratanga - their right to self-government over their lands and resources. The point of divergence between the main Pakeha groups was in the differences in their interpretation of what sovereignty actually meant. That is to say, the more responsible sovereignty of the Crown on the one hand and a "sovereignty" over the land by the newly arrived capitalists and settlers that included uncontrolled land alienation and the unrestricted exploitation of resources. A rivalry certainly then over who would achieve *effective* control over land and resources. The essential struggle was the struggle for economic power. Initial systematic expansion into this country, as expressed in the articles of the New Zealand Company, proposed "a dynasty as absolute and completely exempt from control as can possibly exist in the British Dominions" according to James Stephen, the Permanent Under-Secretary for the Colonies (21). In 1837, Stephen defined the very real consequences which could result from a victory by the capitalists in this essential struggle if *laissez faire* capitalism was allowed to dominate. He stated that at that time that such a process

proposes an acquisition of sovereignty in New Zealand which would infallibly issue in the conquest and extermination of the present inhabitants (22).

In this, Stephen was a visionary. He apparently understood that bald, uncontrolled capitalism which was unrestrained by accountable government could and, indeed, would result in the alienation of the Maori from their lands and resources and their near extermination as a people and culture.

It appears that E.G. Wakefield recognised the crucial role which the press necessarily had to play in order to achieve the type of effective control over land and resources which the capitalists desired. This control could almost certainly only come through the encouragement and agitation for self-government by the press. That is the reason why Samuel Revans and his printing equipment were among the passengers and cargo of the first New Zealand Company ships. It is the reason why every successive Wakefield settlement was encouraged and aided to take printing plant on their ships. The Gazette was operational at Port Nicholson within 58 days of its equipment being landed. The Lyttelton Times was operational within 25 days of its plant being landed in Canterbury, publishing its first issue on 11 January 1851.

The goal of control over land and resources was a good reason why the media should have avoided naked conflict with the Crown. It had the power to close a newspaper down. Nevertheless, there was considerable friction between the early independent press and Crown representatives. The 30 July 1842 Gazette editorial

articulated this sentiment in clear language by declaring that "never in any colony" were Crown representatives "so leniently dealt with by the press". However, evidence also exists which points to a strategy of maintaining social order to ensure that interests of the subscribers - meaning the settlers - were cultivated. After all, they were to become the future voters in a society where a desire for autonomy from restrictive Crown land policies was already growing.

A clear example of the avoidance of naked conflict is highlighted by the following two examples. In the first instance, the Gazette's eventual competitor, the Colonist, could, through its editor Richard Davies Hanson, have provoked "revolutionary fervour" (23) over the lack of roads and general settler dissatisfaction. However, Hanson who held his position as a newspaper editor at the same time as he was appointed Crown Prosecutor from 1842, did not proceed with this possible course of action because "he did not so desire" (24). Perhaps Hanson did not proceed because of his Maori sympathies. In the colony at that time, such feelings could have been misconstrued. Hanson made his Maori sympathies clearly apparent only after his editorship and his dual role had ended at the Colonist in 1843. Hanson continued on in his position as Crown Prosecutor, and generally supported Crown land policies which blocked the wholesale alienation of Maori lands and which were the cause of much settler dissatisfaction. He also supported "a liberal

spirit of compromise" (25) with the Maori in cases where they perceived the application of British laws to be unjust. Despite his stand, or because of it, Hanson felt compelled to leave New Zealand because he could not survive in an arena which was dominated by a press and a government which pursued unjust land alienation practices. Finally, Hanson moved to Adelaide in 1846 because of his abhorrence of Grey's "solutions" to land problems around Wellington and to the illegal seizure and imprisonment of the great chief Te Rauparaha on suspicion of his helping Maori in their conflict against the British in the Hutt. Hanson described such practices as being:

of such doubtful expediency and so clearly unjust that I can longer remain in the Government's service nor stay in Wellington (26).

By playing down such internal power struggles in the colonial and, later, the Dominion infrastructures, the dominant media controllers - as an integral part of the new power elite - conditioned the public to sit in the "spectator stands". There, the public passively observed while the mechanisms were set in place - through editorials, articles and, later, satirical cartoons- to elicit the desired responses which the public had been conditioned to give.

The period 1840 to 1852 saw private enterprise land scheme entrepreneurs bring hand-picked settlers to New Zealand. These

individuals collectively comprised a number of settler communities whose infra-structures were created for a specific purpose. Humanitarian considerations notwithstanding, the prime purpose was to use these infrastructures to encourage an environment in which *laissez faire* commercialism and exploitation of land and resources could flourish. The main instrument which the architects of this overall society used was a press that both inculcated and reflected these ideals. This period was also one that saw the press used as a tool to assist in the displacement of a British colonial administration that had a mainly political-social imperative in which commercial considerations played an important but less dominant role. That imperative did not align with that of the new settler administration which emphasised commercialism as its first imperative. Once constitutional change had taken place, political processes were established that would ultimately allow the methodical mass alienation of Maori land. The main beneficiaries of this constitutional change of imperatives were largely the new politicians - the majority of them media controllers - and the other members of the new economic elite.

As the drive for self government by the politically-aware elite gathered momentum, so too did the move for solidarity on this issue between the enclaves of Pakeha settlement scattered throughout the country. The common voice of the elite was made audible in these settlements through the press. Their common

goal was the control of the land and the commercial sector through which the fruits of the land would be dispersed. Concomitant with this drive, was another concerted media campaign aimed at educating the public as to who the best qualified persons were to oversee the colony's progress - the Crown or the representatives of settler interests. The general public's dissatisfaction over perceived Crown reluctance to proceed with the mass alienation of Maori land partially enabled the media to force the issue over the "need" of a shift to self-government. This was despite a real settler fear that, if alienation proceeded in the manner advocated in the 1840s by Lord John Russell and Earl Grey, Maori unrest would follow. Nevertheless, change was effected. Ostensibly, this was through "the people" - people who were "informed" through the press. It was, therefore, this central issue - the land - which became journalism's sharpening stone in New Zealand. Land was the issue that became the surface upon which the cutting edge of the new elite's argument for self-government was honed. The imagery which editors and writers conjured up for readers through the written word, was the precursor of the visual images to come in socio-political cartoon satire from 1852.

In the wake of the first Elections of 1853, it is not difficult to recognise the depth of media influence, as it is reflected in the election results. Of the 78 men elected, 46 had *direct* media connections. While this will be discussed further on, it

is worthwhile to note the following points for the present:

* In the 1853 elections, prominent media controllers from six out of seven Wellington newspapers were elected to a political office. In many cases, these offices were springboards to higher offices.

* Across the board, it was those persons with media connections and who had campaigned actively against Crown land policies who achieved the most electoral success. (27)

Some prominent examples are:

* Auckland:

William Brown - Proprietor - The Southern Cross

*Auckland Member House of Representatives

Hugh Carleton - Editor - The Southern Cross

*Bay of Islands Member of House of Representatives

John L. Campbell - Co-owner - The Southern Cross

*Auckland Suburbs M.H.R and Provincial

Superintendent

Thomas Forsaith - Former editor- The Herald

*Auckland Member House of Representatives

John Williamson - Proprietor - The New Zealander

*Auckland Provincial Council, later Superintendent of the province

* Wellington:

Isaac Featherston- Editor - The Independent

*Superintendent, later three times M.H.R.

Samuel Revans - Proprietor - The Gazette

*M.H.R. and Provincial Council

* New Plymouth:

Charles Brown - Founder/Co-proprietor - The Taranaki News

*Superintendent, Taranaki

* Canterbury:

J.E.FitzGerald - Manager/Editor - The Lyttelton Times

*M.H.R., Lyttelton, Superintendent, Canterbury

Charles Bowen - Contributing writer - The Lyttelton Times

*Provincial Treasurer, later M.H.R. Kaiapoi and
Minister of Justice

John Hall - Contributing writer - The Lyttelton Times

M.H.R. from 1855, Premier from 1879-82, Cabinet
Minister five times

W.S. Moorhouse - Contributing writer - The Lyttelton Times

*Provincial Council from 1855, Superintendent 1857-
63 and 1866-68, M.H.R. six times from 1853

H.J. Tancred - Contributing Writer - The Lyttelton Times

*Provincial Council from 1853, Provincial Executive
from 1855, Government Minister 1862-1869, M.H.R.
Ashley 1863-69

* Nelson:

Charles Elliot - Proprietor - The Examiner

*Nelson Provincial Council (Wairau - 1853-59, Amuri -
1860-61, Nelson - 1863-64), Marlborough Provincial

Council (Awatere - 1860-61) and M.H.R. Waimea 1855-58
Elliot belonged to a dominant political group which was involved
in land dealing in the Nelson district. The group referred to
itself as "The Nelson Supper Club". Others called the group "the
forty thieves" (28).

* Otago:

William Cutten - Proprietor/editor - The Otago Witness

*Provincial Councillor, Executive Member and
Treasurer(1853-63), M.H.R. Dunedin County (1853-55)
M.H.R. Taieri 1878-79)

William Cargill - Cutten's father-in-law - The Otago Witness

*Superintendent until 1859

James Macandrew - Contributing writer - The Otago Witness

*M.H.R. 1853-60 and 1865-87, Superintendent Otago Province
1860-61 - dismissed for embezzlement yet resumed that
office from 1867 until 1876. Macandrew also became the
subject of New Zealand's first political cartoon where he
was described in 1852 as being "The Coming Man"...

The list above is incomplete; it is merely an indicator. It
should be sufficient, however, to give some idea of the extent
of media influence in colonial society where political office
was concerned. After the 1853 elections, both New Zealand
General Assembly and the Provincial Councils thus contained a
large proportion of members drawn from the media. It appears
that many of these men had not been involved in journalism and

editorial writing simply for the love of writing therefore. As mentioned, in the absence of self government, New Zealand's media controllers gained political prominence in advance of the elections for which they had lobbied so hard. They achieved this by acting as the de facto political representatives of settler interest - and their own - through their newspaper articles and editorials (29).

The predominance of general political partisanship in journalism during the 1840s and 50s was aided by the isolated conditions which prevailed in the colony at that time. Regular and speedy communications did not occur until the 1860s when the telegraph and regularly scheduled mail ships became operative. It was these developments which would make the pursuit of commercially generated revenue profitable in its own right for media controllers. In the meantime, due to the small population base in the colony it was not yet profitable to pursue great profits from newspaper publication *per se*. Instead, newspapers remained as vehicles for political gain. As media personalities were elected to positions which allowed them to legislate directly, financial gain for the *laissez faire* capitalists was more assured than it had been under the colonial administrations. Maori interests became less than secondary in this changed political environment.

By being in the position to influence the foundation and

direction of initial land, resource and commercial legislation, many of the early media controllers acted then to secure an effective financial control which would ensure their own futures and those of the new elite. A point would be reached in this process, however, where, around 1865, the efforts that the more financially astute had been putting into pursuing monetary gain through direct political involvement would be changed. A split therefore occurred. Perhaps it could not have been any other way in an ideological system founded upon the pre-eminence of capital formation. Once the desired infrastructure was in place in New Zealand, the true capitalist broke away from the true politician. The capitalists realised that little profit could be made from *direct* involvement in the administrative and legislative processes of government. It was simply good business to withdraw from this less profitable aspect and direct and influence further political processes which suited the capitalist agenda by continuing to use the press to influence public opinion according to market requirements.

A clear example of this process at work is the case of James Edward FitzGerald, the founder and sole proprietor of the Christchurch Press until 1867. FitzGerald edited and managed the Lyttelton Times until 1852. After that, as with many other newspaper controllers and their associates, FitzGerald offered himself for political office. He became both the first Superintendent of Canterbury and was M.H.R. for Lyttelton until

1857. Soon after his return from England, where he was from 1858 to 1860, FitzGerald joined a syndicate which had been formed to establish the Press. However, the syndicate was "mysteriously" (30) dissolved. FitzGerald was apparently handed sole proprietorship of the proposed paper. There is practically nothing more known of this affair except that, among this syndicate, there was one Richard James Strachan Harman. Harman had been in business from 1851 as a land and estate agent in Canterbury and himself owned several thousand acres in that province (31). In addition, Harman was a Provincial Council Representative for Heathcote from 1857 to 1860, a member of the Executive from 1856 to 1858, Provincial Council Representative for Akaroa from 1860 to 1862 and Deputy Superintendent from 1871. Harman and Edward Cephas John Stevens, are described "as among the shrewdest financial brains in Christchurch in their day" (32). This pair formed a partnership which "specialised in managing the affairs of absentee landholders" (33). It was this pair who also bankrolled FitzGerald's expansion of the Press and its ancillary publications which reached into almost every corner of the province.

It can be presumed that Harman, with his astute financial mind, saw in FitzGerald the potential for the expansion of his capital base with minimum down-side risk. He was most likely investing what, to him, had been "easy money" generated from his involvement in land deals. It is also likely that Harman had

convinced his partner of the potential of the Press under FitzGerald's leadership. Stevens, who eventually became a Minister in the Atkinson administration, apparently agreed because, by 1866, the pair had lent FitzGerald 8,836 pounds. To give a clearer understanding of this level of debt in the modern context, FitzGerald's liability toward Harman and Stevens can be calculated at \$1,403,996 (34) as it must be remember that the colony was on the British bi-metallic currency standard and that each pound sterling was either gold or notes backed by gold. The reason that this exercise was necessary, is to illustrate the level of importance which these two prominent figures placed upon the potential power of the press. This level of debt also helps to explain why FitzGerald finally lost the reins of power at the Press.

FitzGerald's fatal error was that he attempted to run both a newspaper and pursue a political career during this crucial transitional period. Harman, the main initiator of this partnership, did not. He let FitzGerald split *his* talents and energies. Harman, on the other hand, put aside his political career when the time was ripe to displace FitzGerald. Harman did not resume his political career until he was ready to place the management of the Press in the hands of others once again.

It could be said then that FitzGerald was the ideas man and that he was possessed of an entrepreneurial sense which Harman

recognised. However, Harman possessed the capital needed to pursue FitzGerald's ideas to their conclusion. This was a media company with an infrastructure that not only advanced Harman's and Stevens' careers and capital base, but which also aimed to "try out new saleable commodities [that were] research[ed]...to meet a new market" (35).

The problem for FitzGerald, it appears, was that his dedication to the most important aspect of establishing and expanding a business, capital, was less than total. Harman, whilst he indeed had his finger in the political pie, was the more fully evolved of the new capitalist species in the colony of New Zealand. He was involved in politics, but even there, financial considerations came first because, as a capitalist, Harman recognised the power that the government held over land settlement and the economy. He knew instinctively that "business needed to be involved in politics" (36). However, to the transitional capitalists such as Harman and Stevens, recognising the priority of capital marked them as survivors in the new social order. Politics was the means to an end in positioning themselves to take advantage of the potential which land and its development held for men like Harman and Stevens.

Land, its development and the capital which was generated from that development, were the focal points of all contending parties within the social elite. Those who survived generally

had their capital base in the land and/or capital generated from that land. Harman, for example, profited much from his dealings in land. It was he who survived because of the liquidity which these activities generated. He dealt in tangibles: the land. FitzGerald, on the other hand, placed too much emphasis on the political aspects which are shifting and intangible. This historical fact is a terribly ironic twist to the truth which is expressed in the Maori proverb: "he kura tangata e kore e rokohanga; he kura whenua ka rokohanga". One English translation which has been given of this proverb is: "the treasured possessions of men are intangible; the treasures of the land tangible".

When FitzGerald needed the financial reserves to call upon, politics could not directly provide his needs. Harman and Stevens therefore took effective control of the Press, thus realising the windfall of their initial investment in FitzGerald's business strategy of using the media as an instrument of economic growth and political influence. Harman and Stevens, consummate businessmen to the core, formed the paper into a company and the shares were bought by the landed gentry and businessmen who were "more interested in steady dividends than in...political influence" (37).

The realisation of profit then was also an integral part of the vision of the "ideal" New Zealand society. The vehicle which was

used for the spread of this ideology was, in the main, managed and coordinated by the exclusively white, male factions which oversaw the establishment of New Zealand's social, political and economic infrastructures. As mentioned, of the 78 men elected to prominent political positions in 1853, 46 were directly media connected. Of these 46, five became Premiers. These Premiers included the pro-Maori Thomas Spencer Forsaith who held the office for just three days in 1854 (editor - the New Zealander). His political career was lost in 1860 due to his Maori sympathies. Also, William Fox (editor - the Gazette), the three times Premier who became a strong advocate of Maori land confiscation, John Hall (writer - Lyttelton Times), premier from 1879 to 1882, Edward W. Stafford (writer - the Nelson Examiner), another three-time premier and, finally, Julius Vogel (editor and co-proprietor - the Otago Daily Times, and later, five other papers). Vogel was twice premier, from 1873 to 1875 and again in 1876. On top of that, he was a Minister in every government that he was involved with; including Colonial Treasurer and the Postmaster-General and Commissioner of Telegraphs.

Another factor of relevance is that of the original 46 media-connected politicians elected in 1853, 43 were involved with the establishment, management, editorship or control of more than one newspaper (38). Perhaps more than anything else, this situation indicates in no small way how the formation of the "ideal" New Zealand society was being influenced by these men

through the medium of the press. In England, some sectors of the press could lay claim to representing the interests of other groups from time to time. However, during the formative years of the press in New Zealand

newspaper managements...were drawn from the same social groupings as were politicians. Often the newspaper management and the politicians were the same figures (39).

While there can be little doubt that many of the 46 politically active media controllers of the period 1840 to 1880 were able statesmen, there also appears little doubt that these men intuitively subscribed to Daniel Defoe's belief that

the press was a main force in the initiative and accomplishment of all social and political reform (40)

Indeed, the isolation of New Zealand made the accomplishment of the above all the easier. All that was necessary was to feed the settlers what the 18 July 1846 edition of the New Zealander called "their daily intellectual food".

The feeding of this "intellectual food" was carefully measured and regularly administered doses of the sweet talk of "liberty"; an ideal which was dear to the hearts of most settlers. All over the colony, each settlement initially had its own development and survival at heart. These two considerations depended mainly upon the land and the resources which surrounded each settlement. The general perception by settlers that the Crown

was holding back the development of their settlements and, later, their provinces through its land policies, provided non-Crown influenced newspapers with the "intellectual food" with which to "feed" the populace. Media motivation in this respect should not generally be attributed to high ideals. Rather, it should be put down to the fact that capitalism relies upon what its proponents describe as "free" markets with a solid consumer base to support those markets. The new social elite in New Zealand felt that the Crown was blocking progress in this direction. This was, I would argue, the impetus for the distribution of "intellectual food" .

It appears that inter-settlement and inter-provincial rivalries had a "drag effect" on the progress aimed at effectively unifying New Zealand. However, the pattern which resulted in the 1853 elections was the same in each area: there was a demand for the Crown to provide land or to let the settlers and business interests negotiate land purchases for themselves. This pressure was stronger in the North Island because the government's early large purchases took place in the South Island. Once self-government was achieved, from 1853 onwards there began the slow but steady evolution which divided the pure capitalist from the true politician. The place which media controllers occupied in this evolution was very likely distorted and affected by the initial necessity to give their more parochial considerations precedence. By 1863, however, it appears that in the minds of

the owners of Auckland's New Zealand Herald at least, a crystallisation, the nature of which will be explained, had begun. In 1841, William Chisholm Wilson initially began his career in New Zealand as a printer with the first Auckland New Zealand Herald. Afterwards, in 1842, he succeeded to publication of the Bay of Islands Observer. He then worked as a partner in the New Zealander from 1848 to 1863. By that later period Wilson had formulated a policy which became standard at the Herald. This policy held that it was inappropriate for newspaper proprietors or editors to stand for political office (41). Wilson's son and successor, William Scott Wilson, and the Herald's new partner from 1876, Alfred George Horton, also adhered to this policy.

It appears then that a major policy thrust of the Herald, was to pursue a regular and popular policy of acting in the role of a public advocate for the complete alienation of all "waste" Maori land (42). As a result, the Herald's popularity became such that it evolved into New Zealand's largest circulation daily paper before the turn of the century. The Auckland Weekly News, which also first appeared in 1863, was Wilson and Horton's weekly digest of the Herald's daily news. It was distributed into the outlying country districts where it was impossible to have dailies delivered during this period. This was the specific intention of Wilson and Horton - to make their weekly a compilation of their daily news and editorial opinions (43).

The Auckland Weekly News first issue, which appeared on 28 November 1863, was described on the cover as "a journal of commerce, agriculture, literature, science and art". In attempting to be just about all things to all people (of, at least, Pakeha extraction) the Weekly, as it came to be called, was largely successful. Not only did it come to be read from Cape Reinga to Stewart Island, it was also posted by the thousands to Britain where its articles, drawings and, later, excellent photographs acted to make New Zealand a magnet to even more prospective settlers (44).

Through recognising where parochialism was acting as a brake on the overall pursuit of the capitalist ideal, Wilson and Horton struck the common chord that transcended parochialism: land. The demand to free up land for development not being peculiar to any one district, was the nationwide issue. In order to become the leading force in the drive to pressure the government to alienate Maori land, Wilson and Horton used the daily Herald to push the land issue provincially in town areas and it used the Weekly to push the same issue on a national scale. Together, Wilson and Horton publications were an extremely effective media tool for selling the dominant ideology.

The efforts of the media to use its influence to accelerate land alienation are epitomised and clearly defined in an Editorial which the Herald ran on 29 October 1921. The facts which the

Editorial notes, and the opinions which it expresses, span a long period in our history:

Since the dawn of European settlement in New Zealand over 62,000,000 acres have passed to the white man. The Maori estate has thus [been] diminished:

Land held by the Maoris

[1840	62,000,000 +]
1891	10,829,486
1911	7,137,205
1921	4,639,573

It is apparent from these figures that the native estate can no longer be regarded as inexhaustible. That is no reason why there should be delay or timidity in settling what remains(45).

It is clearly evident from this sample Editorial that, despite localised problems and inter-provincial bickering, a policy of the Herald was to direct unified public opinion toward favouring complete Maori land alienation at least. This, it appears, is what those media controllers presented as the main issue on the colonial agenda. Indeed, it appears that it was.

Until around 1860 then, the newspapers which had survived the initial scramble to become established, were mainly the newspapers whose controllers had achieved political office by the effective use of their papers. The following step - from

about 1860 onwards - was recognising that pure capitalism demanded the eventual divestment of direct involvement in political office - but not the divestment of political influence. In turn, political influence was achieved through the use of the press. Further, this influence was given fuller effectiveness by the establishment of the United Press Association in 1879. The principals of the Herald, Wilson and Horton, were at the forefront of the capitalist push to influence political policy-making both through influencing public opinion and through pressuring politicians themselves on matters which media controllers considered as being in the "public interest". The media's agenda, as it was clearly described in the Evening Post editorial of 17 February 1881 was to "promote leading and even forming...public opinion upon political matters".

In concluding this overview of the founding of the press in New Zealand, I have attempted to analyse the following factors as background to a discussion of socio-political cartoon satire:

- * a general profile of some of the most prominent persons who transplanted the ideals of the British press along with the aspirations of this elite in New Zealand.

- * how those persons modified their class ideas and how they sought to implement a strategy to construct their "ideal" society in a new colony where individualism was a reality

and visions of Arcadia alluded to a plenty that could only be had at the expense of the original inhabitants - the Maori (46).

* How those who eventually came to plan and construct New Zealand's political, economic and social infra-structure sought to pursue the paths of least resistance toward those goals. Hence, when its time came, both humour and cartoon satire were utilised as tools to help achieve these goals. It was therefore during the founding period 1839 to 1880 that the transition to the use of cartoon satire took place. The mental images which journalism's written flourishes had conjured up in the public's mind began to be modified. They were no longer the *final* word on social and political issues.

FOOTNOTES:Chapter One

- (1) W.J. Gardner, "A Colonial Economy" in W.H. Oliver, The Oxford History of New Zealand, pp.59-60
- (2) Public Record Office: Broadsheet printed for George Robins Auctioneers, London, 24 September 1839. Illustrated in Patricia Burns, Fatal Success, pp.108-109
- (3) *ibid*
- (4) Edward Gibbon Wakefield, as quoted by Edward Betts Hopper in unpublished private papers held in the British Museum library and quoted by Patricia Burns, Fatal Success, p.12
- (5) Patricia Burns, Fatal Success, p.110
- (6) Patricia Burns, "The Foundation of the New Zealand Press 1839 to 1850", Victoria University of Wellington, 1957 Thesis Ph.D Vol. II, p.4
- (7) Patricia Burns, Fatal Success, p.152
- (8) W.J. Gardner in Oliver, p.60
- (9) Patricia Burns, "The Foundation of the New Zealand Press 1839 to 1850", Vol. II, p.4
- (10) *ibid*
- (11) *ibid*, Vol. II, p.5
- (12) *ibid*
- (13) W.J. Gardner in Oliver, p.59
- (14) Patricia Burns "The Foundation of the New Zealand Press 1839 to 1850", Vol I, pp.4-5
- (15) The New Zealand Herald, editorial, 29 October 1921
- (16) Patricia Burns, The Foundation of the New Zealand Press 1839 to 1850, Vol I, p.12
- (17) *ibid*, Vol I, pp.37-38
- (18) *ibid*, Vol II p.133
- (19) Edward Gibbon Wakefield, The British Colonisation of New Zealand, quoted by Patricia Burns in Fatal Success, p.52
- (20) Patricia Burns, The Foundation of the New Zealand Press 1839 to 1850, Vol.II, pp.127-28

- (21) Patricia Burns, Fatal Success, p.46
- (22) ibid, pp.44-45
- (23) Patricia Burns, The Foundation of the New Zealand Press 1839 to 1850, Vol.II, p.37
- (24) ibid
- (25) R.D.Hanson, personal letter to the Secretary of the Society for the Protection of Aborigines, May 1842 quoted in Burns, Fatal Success pp. 290-91
- (26) Patricia Burns, Fatal Success, p.290
- (27) Patrick Day, The Making of the New Zealand Press 1840 to 1880, Appendix, pp. 244-61
- (28) ibid, p.88
- (29) ibid, p.91
- (30) ibid, p.119
- (31) ibid, p.252
- (32) R.B. O'Neill, The Press 1861-1961: The Story of a Newspaper, p.86
- (33) Patrick Day, The Making of the New Zealand Press 1840 to 1880, p. 122
- (34) Until 1934, most of the world operated on a gold and silver, or bi-metallic standard. This standard was applied throughout the British colonies as well and included New Zealand. 8836 pounds sterling equates to 2080 troy ounces of gold calculated at a bullion content of .2354 troy ounces per gold sovereign or pound sterling. Expressed in the 1993-94 median gold price of NZ \$675 per troy ounce of gold then, a modern equivalent is approximately \$1,403,996
- (35) Patrick Day, The making of the New Zealand Press 1840 to 1880, p. 122
- (36) Raewyn Dalziel, "The Politics of Settlement" in The Oxford History of New Zealand, 2nd edition, ed. G.W. Rice, p. 105
- (37) Patrick Day, The Making of the New Zealand Press 1840 to 1880, p.124
- (38) ibid, appendix, pp. 244-261

- (39) *ibid*, p.181
- (40) Patricia Burns, The Foundation of the New Zealand Press 1839 to 1850, Ph.D Thesis, Vol.II, p. 160
- (41) Patrick Day, The Making of the New Zealand Press 1840 to 1880, p.173 and p.252
- (42) The New Zealand Herald, editorial, 29 October 1921
- (43) Phillip Ridge, Those Were The Days:A Nostalgic Look at the Early Days 1900-1919 from the Pages of the Weekly News, Vol I., Moa Publications, Auckland, 1989, p.10
- (44) *ibid*
- (45) The New Zealand Herald, editorial, 29 October 1921
- (46) The type of "ideal" society alluded to in this thesis is not "the idealised picture European colonists had of their new society...with a minimal framework of associations" as Miles Fairburn states in The Ideal Society and its Enemies*. Neither is it a place where unrestricted individualism would disrupt a structured marketplace where commerce could expand. The ideal society which I refer to is one in which capitalists have uncontrolled access to the land and resources which will supply the marketplace which is being set up by the new economic elite and which is aided by the illusion of an individualism which most settlers believed they possessed. Such vigorous movement toward self-government would probably not have been made had this belief not have been held. The press must be seen to have played a large part in cultivating, yet controlling, this belief to accomodate implementation of the agenda and cultivating consumerism as put forward as part of the thesis argument.
- * Miles Fairburn, The Ideal Society and its Enemies: The Foundations of Modern New Zealand Society 1850-1900, Auckland University Press, Auckland, 1989 p.13-15

Chapter two:

The Formative Years of Socio-political Cartoon Satire in New Zealand.

1852 was a transition year for the media in New Zealand. That year saw the end of the sole reliance upon the written word as a means of influencing the general public's internalisation of desired political and social ideas. It was at this time that socio-political cartoon satire made its debut here. The transition to, and the incorporation of such images, far from being a complex psychological strategy, was a simple but effective media tool. As with much other cultural "baggage", the conception and application of socio-political cartoon satire was imported from Great Britain. These concepts only required adaptation in ways which assisted the strengthening of the new social, political and economic infrastructures being established in New Zealand. I use the term "establish" because, in the main, the goal of media controllers and the social elite for whom they "spoke", was the establishment of an "ideal" New Zealand society as outlined in the introduction.

The publication of visual constructs such as socio-political cartoon satire was a means to an end. Through that medium, both physical and mental machineries were established which aided the communication of images that influenced and directed Pakeha public opinion. Foremost among these were images that cultivated a mind set which aided the displacement of the Maori cultures as



THE COMING MAN. 1852

New Zealand's first political cartoon/caricature. Otago's James Macandrew by James Brown, 1852.

well as a progressive transference of control of Maori lands and resources to the Pakeha. Cartoon satire became a tool at the cutting edge of social, political and economic policies being campaigned for in New Zealand at that time. The press was the instrument through which those desired policies were presented and where the perceived benefits, ostensibly for all New Zealanders, were reinforced.

New Zealand's first socio-political cartoon was a rather simple affair. Like many such cartoons to follow, however, it was "a careful imitation of the British models" (1). Simplicity however is not to imply ill-conceived. The British models were tried and true. Good socio-political cartoons, it will be shown, kept the message simple and easily understood. Experience gained in Britain, demonstrated that simplicity in the presentation of images was the key to conveying the more complex messages contained within images which, on the surface, were innocent or humorous looking enough.

The first New Zealand socio-political cartoon was a success when considered in the above context. Executed in 1852, and shown as figure #1, James Brown's cartoon satirised and caricatured James Macandrew who was prominent in Otago politics and later was to become an important government Minister. The caption, which reads: "The Coming Man", was prophetic in two respects. Firstly, it is a prophecy of the self-made "man" that Macandrew indeed

became in the eyes of his colleagues and society generally. Second and, perhaps, more importantly, the cartoon epitomises Macandrew as a desirable model for other "coming men". The cartoon image is one of a top-hatted, well-dressed man of means who is clutching a padlocked bag and hurrying forth into the world. It is indeed the epitome of even today's businessman-cum-politician. The only modification needed to achieve this transition would be modern clothes and a locking attaché case. Looking deeper than the outside appearances of the image then, it can be argued that the basic tenets to which "The Coming Man" cartoon adhered have not really changed. What was acceptable and desirable socially - as expressed in Brown's cartoon in 1852 - remained the same throughout that century and applies equally today. Brown's cartoon encapsulates an ideology which has remained unchanged : self advancement and profit - at least for the Pakeha.

Images which focused on land-related issues were to become the main subjects which cartoons, in conjunction with influential editorials and articles came to dwell upon from 1852. In the main, most settlers, for their part, arrived in the new colony with the clear expectation that land and a prosperous new life awaited them. This expectation was helped along by the promotional material in the 1841 Emigration Gazette and Colonial Settlers' Universal Guide and in works by Authors such as William Stones' New Zealand, (The Land of Promise) and its Resources



HERE

AND

THERE;

OR, EMIGRATION A REMEDY.

Figure

#2

2

The Needlewoman at Home and Abroad.



written later on in 1858. Such later works kept providing further impetus for British to emigrate to New Zealand. Neither did media controllers here refrain from painting as rosy a picture as possible about the benefits of life in colonies like New Zealand. This statement applies, in the main, to those who were considered a desirable emigrant. People who had aspirations toward being hardworking, productive, consumptive and who were family orientated. Figures #2 and #3 are taken from the 1848 and 1850 editions of the London published Punch. These images, while they do not appear to be of upwardly mobile persons, do in fact portray certain ideal candidates for emigration: families and single women. These persons, given the chance, were inclined to possess keen aspirations necessary for the success of the colony as it was envisioned by the colonial elite in their agenda. Such desirable emigrants were the cornerstones of the new colony. That said, in many cases, neither the promised land nor the prosperity was forthcoming in the manner or with the speed with which they had been expected. Media controllers were able to channel much of the resultant settler frustration toward the movement for self-government in a way which delivered the social elite the most long-term benefit. This initial and sustained media campaign, it has already been demonstrated, put many media controllers at the political helm of a newly autonomous New Zealand. The word "Progress" was quoted in many media Editorials and articles. Almost invariably, the argument was that enough of it was not being made. Media controllers argued this point before

Nº 1.]

FOR THE WEEK ENDING JULY 17, 1841.

[PRICE THREEPENCE.



LONDON:
PUBLISHED FOR THE PROPRIETORS, BY R. BRYANT,
AT PUNCH'S OFFICE, WELLINGTON STREET, STRAND.
AND SOLD BY ALL NEWSDEALERS

COVER OF THE FIRST VOLUME OF PUNCH.
(Designed by A. S. Henning.)

many of them assumed political office, and they argued it afterwards - especially when the issue was land. The average middle-class colonist, before arriving in New Zealand, had a clear idea of what constituted "progress". Exploiting this "clear idea" of "progress" appears to have been part of the media strategy. That idea agreed with both the new Pakeha social elite's concept of "progress" as well as with their agenda of political and economic expansion. Concomitant with this broadening of the social elite's power base, the media, as the general advocate of Pakeha "progress", orchestrated a further careful channelling of public anger over shortages of land. Indeed, many of these ideas about what constituted "progress" had already been assisted in their formation by that British "pillar of the middle-class establishment" (2), the London Punch. It was from this publication's experiences that the media in New Zealand formulated many of their initial strategies for the use of socio-political cartoon satire. Punch was, indeed, a middle class publication, but with Charles Dickens in vogue and many young writers from middle-class roots living Bohemian lifestyles, it is little wonder that Punch began "its...existence [as]...a staunch defender of the poor and oppressed and a radical scourge of all authority"(3) on 17 July 1841. Punch was founded by some of these free-thinking, liberal Bohemians. Its first cover appears as figure #3-a. The co-editor, Mr. Mark Lemon, made a salient statement of intent for Punch in the very first article ever written in that magazine. It was stated that the hook-nosed

Mr. Punch would be, through his satire, " a teacher of no mean pretensions" . By that, it was meant that Mr. Punch "would work as a teacher as well as a jester - a leader and a preacher...to win the attention of the crowd...with conscious impudence he took his place at its head" (4).

punch's transition away from advocacy for the poor to the expression of more clearly entrenched middle-class ideas, opinions and aspirations can perhaps be explained by the fact that, in the beginning, "most of [Punch's] early contributors were youngish men...still not firmly established in their careers or in society" (5). Not a few of these contributors, though originally from families of some means, had fallen on hard times themselves. The taste of relative poverty initially gave these writers and satirists insights into the plight of the real poor (6). However, the truth is that they were not the real poor. They were an integral part of a rising and *competitive* class which had suffered, as had the working class, at the hands of "the old corruption of the landed aristocracy" (7). Mark Lemon, from very humble beginnings, ended up the highest paid media executive by the time of his death in 1870. His salary was never exceeded until 1895 (8).

The experience of *Punch*, and its evolution, paralleled chronologically the development of the press in New Zealand. However, in terms of the sophisticated use of media strategies

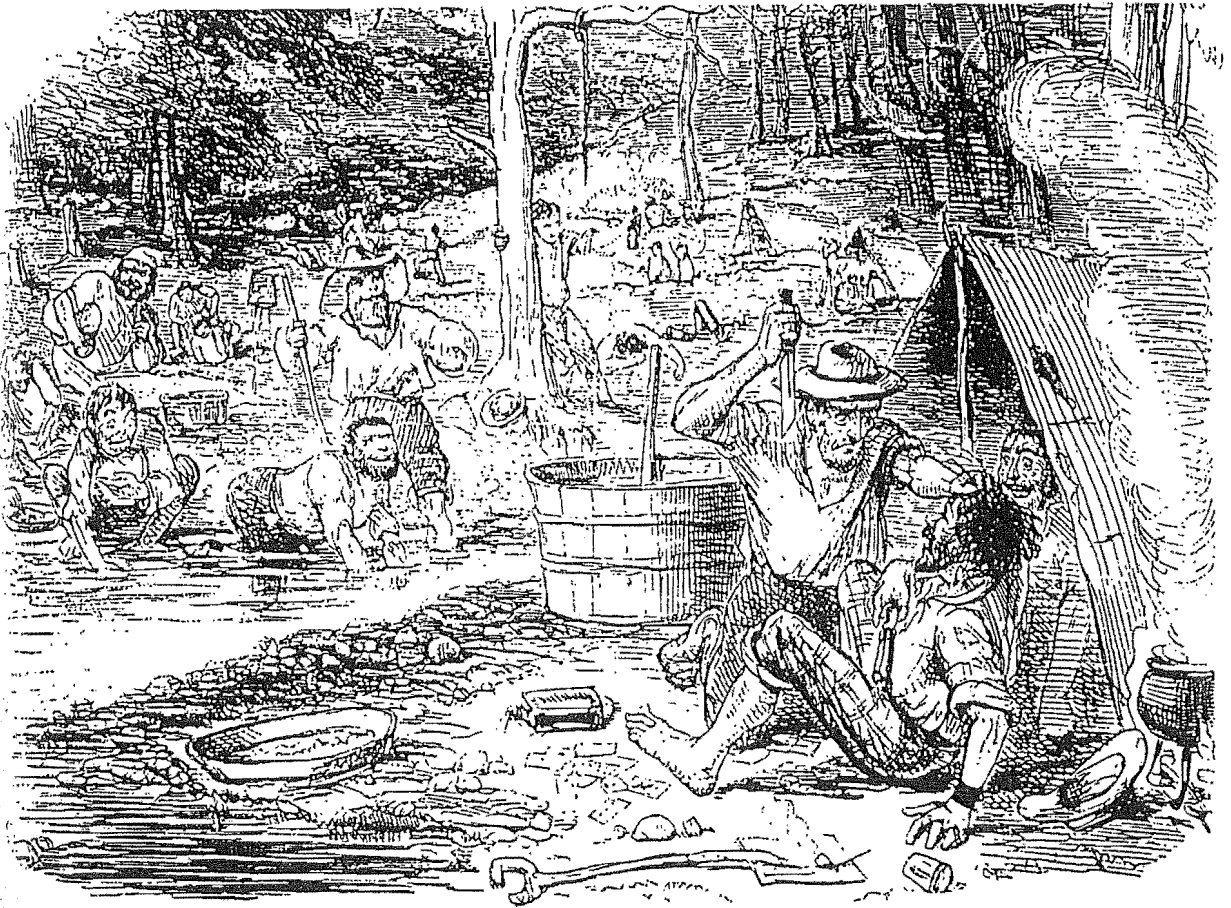
such as satire, the New Zealand media looked very much to Punch for inspiration. Indeed, from about the 1860s Punch publications in a similar style but not actually connected with, or sophisticated as, the original came to be published in New Zealand. These included the New Zealand Punch, the Taranaki Punch, the Otago Punch and the Wellington Punch. None appear to have survived past 1870.

By the time political autonomy was attained in New Zealand, media controllers were aware of the power that publications like Punch had slowly but certainly helped to obtain for the middle classes in Britain.

Despite Punch's initial altruistic sentiments then, it appears that, in the end, the dynamics of the awakening class consciousness acted to overcome the altruism. If that was indeed the case, it may help to explain the shift away from championing the plight of the poor to accommodating the views of those who possessed the disposable income to afford the silver threepence with which to purchase Punch. Within little more than a decade of its founding - and paralleling the New Zealand media's own political autonomy campaign:

Punch changed with its readers. There was a hardening of arteries and attitudes towards servants, workmen and beggars...Even the "deserving" poor...had become suspect. (9)

PEACE AND WAR .



There was little sympathy for the men who tried to escape poverty at home by joining in the gold rush overseas (1852)

Indeed, even those of the poor who sought to emigrate of their own accord were not necessarily viewed in a positive light. The middle-class entrepreneurs liked to be very much in control of who wound up in their ideal world. Unmarried men of low birth were definitely not on the "desirables" list. Figure #4 is a Punch cartoon published in 1852. It depicts gold-rush emigrants apparently getting a world that they "deserved". It is an image which differs markedly from the Punch cartoons in figures #2 and #3 which were published in 1848 and 1850 respectively. The difference may be explained by the then prevailing disapproval of unsystematic colonisation and the general perception of a lack of order on the gold-fields.

This lead by Punch was indeed salient. Punch, it is recognised, was the cradle of the term "cartoon". That term was coined by "Mr.Punch" alias artist John Leech. The first cartoon to actually be called a "cartoon" appeared on page 22 of volume two. This was a satirical commentary upon an "Exhibition of Pictures" which was held in July 1843 at the Houses of Parliament. A "free day" had been suggested to allow the needy to view the exhibits. Leech commented on the occasion with his cartoon which was captioned: "The poor ask for bread and the philanthropy of the state accords - an Exhibition" (10).

Prior to that time, such drawings were, from the birth of the first satirical print drawn during the reign of King Charles I,

called "mad designs" (11). By the reign of King George II, such drawings were called "hieroglyphics", and then, "caricatures". By King William IV's reign, such drawings were called "political lithographs" (12). What is most salient, however, is that it is clear that Punch's publishers realised during the early years of the founding of the magazine what M.H. Speilman said after that fact: "power and popularity...especially in a newspaper...does not necessarily carry influence along with it" (13). It is Speilman's subsequent observation which underscores and supports

the main argument of this thesis about the power of socio-political cartoons. The observation appears not to have been lost on the publishers of Punch:

It may be safely taken that while the social section of Punch - artistic and literary combined - earned for [Punch] vast popularity, his [Punch's] power, which, at one time, was great almost beyond present belief, was obtained chiefly by his political satires with pen and pencil. (14)

Whilst it appears then that Punch did influence political cartoon satire in New Zealand, that publication does not appear to have explicitly been the progenitor of cartoons of a blatant racist nature here. Punch's approach was more subtle. The material was certainly not of the rough and ready colonial style produced by New Zealand "Punch" type imitations. In the British Punch, reservedly racial innuendoes, in the English style, do not

Below: Darwin's revolutionary theories that the apes were mankind's predecessors and 'brothers' found little favour (1861)



actually appear to have been discussed, parodied or satirised to any great degree until 1865 (15). The Taranaki Punch had already directed hard-core racist tirades against the Maori from 1861. The impetus for this was that war had broken out over land from 1860. An early cartoon appearance in the overtly racist vein was of Maori in a cartoon captioned "Awful Impudence". That cartoon dealt with a group of "savage" Maori sitting outside the barricaded gate to a town and being left to wonder why they were not going to be allowed admittance to burn the town down.

In contrast, the British Punch had utilised the narrative of the novel, Alice's Adventures in Wonderland, to ponder the racial "gaps". Alice, "who had the good habit of asking herself questions", thought that "confusion and violence" in the world simply stemmed from the "fact" that the unhappy myriads who were unlike herself "had had the misfortune of not being born in England" (16). This appears to have implied not being born [white] English and, therefore, not being imbued with the benefits of English culture and civilisation. The view expressed might simply have been an ethnocentric one - except Alice began to conjecture further regarding skin colour before returning to her more ethnocentric ramblings. Reference is made by Alice back to an 1861 London Punch cartoon that was recycled for use again in the 1865 article. The 1861 image originally dealt with Darwin's theory that "apes were mankind's predecessors" as is depicted in figure #5. Alice conjectured that while:

All men were her brothers...she had never met a black man and had no particular wish to do so. But she doubted if it could really be true [that black men were her brothers]. She giggled for days after she had read a poem "written" by a gorilla in the London Zoo, who had a placard around his hairy neck asking if he was a man and a brother. She thought it must be extremely bewildering to be born Black instead of White, like her and all of her friends and it could have scarcely been less strange to have been born yellow. Alice felt sure that the colour of the Chinese helped to explain their jaundiced views. Their jealousy was always causing trouble...they had murdered Whites simply because the English had been kind enough to take over Canton...to give the Chinese the increased benefit of English trade.(17)

In the New Zealand context, it was, perhaps, this emphasis upon the "increased benefits" of contact with the English and their culture which was significant in much of the cartoon satire which evolved here. Cartoon satire ultimately came to focus upon justification for the alienation of Maori land, but not the alienation itself. This campaign "to justify" was an integral part of a progressive strategy calculated to alienate the best land from Maori hands. When closely examined, especially from a media point of view, the case which the Pakeha argued was one which consistently sought to justify the alienation of Maori

lands on the grounds that it would ultimately advance those displaced peoples. Like Alice and the Chinese of Canton, Pakeha settlers could not understand why more and more Maori were rejecting the "increased benefits" of contact with the British.

The media strategy from 1859 then, was to coordinate and focus public pressure over the issue of prime land upon the government. This pressure played no small role in forcing the government to pressure Maori in ways which resulted in such questionable land purchases as the Waitara block in 1859. The struggles for sovereignty over land which followed, it could be argued, were consistent with the agenda of those who held the view that their ideal of "progress" was not being achieved quickly enough.

However it needs to be stressed again that the colonial elite were still evolving in the 1840s and very early 50s. During that time, a division, but not a split, occurred which resulted in the clear emergence of two general groups in the 1860s: those who were pure capitalists and those who were to govern. In governing, this political faction, to some extent, had to control and restrict business expansion as it always tended to lean toward excess - especially where land and resources were concerned. This is not to say that both groups were not still moving toward the same ideal of complete Maori land alienation. Their evolution at this point simply meant that they approached that ideal via somewhat alternate routes. One group was political. Its main

concern was trying to keep happy as many individuals and factions as was possible so that it maintained power. The other group comprised mainly entrepreneurial business people for whom the wheels of the political processes ground, in some cases, too slowly. When this happened, it was generally the job of the economic elite's mouthpieces, the local newspapers, to influence and direct the general public to pressure the government to act. However, it remains that, in both cases, in order to achieve the "ideal" society, both groups needed and cultivated public support. Both groups therefore worked together toward that ideal when conditions permitted.

The media representatives of those who believed that the wheels of "progress" were not turning quickly enough were the spearhead of a campaign of anti-Maori propaganda from 1861. On 17 March 1860, the first shots were fired which marked the beginning of a series of hostilities between Pakeha and Maori during the 1860s. For the Maori, these hostilities were essentially a struggle to retain sovereignty over their land. The initial conflict over the Crown purchase of the Waitara Block came to be an underlying excuse for the unjust hostilities which ensued. The lengthy and costly wars attributed to Maori "rebellion" against the Crown, were used as justification for the confiscation of the best land that some tribes possessed but refused to sell.

Cartoon satire was used to denigrate anyone who pointed out the



MEMBER OF THE ABORIGINAL PROTECTION SOCIETY.

Oh! Really, my Christian Brother, if you continue to indulge in these unseemly eccentricities you will alienate the regard of your most earnest well-wishers

immorality of what was taking place. It also targeted any person who expressed support or admiration for the courageous stand which Maori took to protect their land. For instance, it is said by I.F. Grant that General D.A. Cameron, commanding officer of the British troops in New Zealand and one of his officers, a Captain MacKenzie, were publicly savaged in the Otago Punch for describing their Maori adversaries as "superior men" (18).

In addition, there appears to have developed a concerted media campaign carried in both the Taranaki Punch and the Wellington Punch throughout most of the 1860s specifically against the suggestion that Maori should be assimilated into Pakeha society - even if they wanted to be. This is evidenced in figure #6. In this cartoon published in 1868 in the Wellington Punch, a member of the British Aborigines Protection Society, which kept a watchful eye on indigenous peoples throughout the Empire, is satirised for his argument that the Maori could be brought to a "civilised" state through Christianity.

While most of these cartoons ostensibly dealt with issues such as Christian ethics, the civilising mission of the Pakeha, war "atrocities" by the Maori and so on, the real underlying issue was land. Indeed, from 1863, for the Maori to rebel against injustice meant confiscation of their lands under the Settlements Act of 1863 (19).

Against this Pakeha aggression came the Maori answer. It cannot



A NEW CHAMPION FOR THE NATIVES.

be called a rebuke; for even after all the Pakeha was doing, the Maori called their adversaries "friend". Time was to prove this Maori answer as consistent as it was prophetic:

E hoa, ka whawhai tonu ahau ki a koe, ake ake!

Friend, I shall fight against you forever, forever!

Hauraki Tonganui, speaking for Rewi Maniapoto, declared this to W.G. Mair who was General Cameron's interpreter at the battle of Orakau during the drive to take the Waikato (20).

It is significant then that, even in war, while the Maori called their enemy "friend", the media insisted upon making the point Pakeha soldiers should not even think about suggesting that Maori could be more than the equal of the Englishman as a fighter and of the settler for moral fibre. The "Captain MacKenzie" who was depicted in the Otago Punch as being one of General Cameron's officers is the main subject of figure #7. This cartoon was published in 1866. MacKenzie, it was claimed, trampled upon a Union Jack during a public speech and exclaimed about the Maori: "had I been younger I would assist them" (21). The figure #7 cartoon depicts MacKenzie leading a charge of savage, crazed-looking Maori as he simultaneously tramples across a British flag. Such imagery sent a strong signal to Maori sympathisers. It is difficult to conclude this categorically, but "Captain MacKenzie" may have been a propaganda tool and a warning to the non-patriotic. No follow-ups in the press, no biographies or other mention of this particular Captain MacKenzie have been

found by this writer. In any case, it seems clear that it was during this tumultuous period that the dies were cast, and a mechanism set into motion, to produce the unique New Zealand style of socio-political cartoons which were to follow. It was a blueprint for the implementation of a protracted socio-political cartoon satire campaign by the general media. Its proving ground had been the issues generated during the hostilities over land in the 1860s - but the new media strategy eschewed war as the means to obtaining the desired end while still emphasising the central issue : that of land.

The categories of cartoon images which the media chose to utilise in getting their new message across to increase the potential impact of articles or editorials were honed during the formative years of 1852 to 1870. With the war "won", dealing with the legacies of that conflict was to be the subject of much of the succeeding socio-political cartoon satire up to the turn of the century. It is clear that there was a continuity throughout the second half of the nineteenth century: an on-going agenda focused upon the total alienation of Maori lands. This focus included the control of land as well the resources contained on it and in it. For just as the cry of Maori for justice over the taking of their land through illegal or unjust means has been consistent, so will there be shown a consistency on the part of the media in pursuing a campaign to *justify* land confiscations and other manipulations - legal, legislative and otherwise. In addition, there will be

revealed the attempt by the media to make those acts appear socially, politically and *historically* acceptable. Imbuing the pakeha public with the concept of justification for the land alienation through media texts was an essential strategy. "Justification" appears to have carried an intrinsic permanence which the land grabs themselves did not have in the Pakeha mind. In achieving such a public "consciousness", governments could shift and change, but the public's belief that land alienation was "justified" aided the permanence of alienation to the detriment of the true Maori owners. A main vehicle for the implementation of this agenda was the use of socio-political cartoon satire.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter Two

- 1.) I.F.Grant, The Unauthorized Version: A Cartoon History of New Zealand 1840-1987, 2nd Edition, David Bateman, Auckland 1987 p.8
- 2.) F.E.Huggett, Victorian England as seen by Punch, p.7
- 3.) Ibid
- 4.) M.H.Speilman, A History of Punch, p.254
- 5.) F.E.Huggett, Victorian England as seen by Punch, p.9
- 6.) Ibid
- 7.) Ibid
- 8.) M.H.Speilman, A History of Punch, p.254
- 9.) F.E.Huggett, Victorian England as seen by Punch, p.63
- 10.) M.H.Speilman, A History of Punch, p.187
- 11.) Ibid

- 12.) Ibid
- 13.) Ibid, p.185
- 14.) Ibid
- 15.) F.E.Huggett, Victorian England as seen by Punch, pp.94-95
- 16.) Ibid, p.94
- 17.) Ibid pp.95-97
- 18.) I.F.Grant, The Unauthorized Version, p.24
- 19.) Anne Parsonson, "The Pursuit of Mana" pp.140-167 in The Oxford History of New Zealand, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1988, p.157
- 20.) J.Cowan, The New Zealand Wars: A History of the Maori Campaigns and the Pioneering Period, Vol.I, Government Printer, Wellington 1922, pp.390-94
- 21.)- I.F.Grant- The Unauthorized Version, p.24

Chapter Three

The New Zealand Herald And Auckland Weekly News. The Main Disseminators of Constructed Reality through Cartoons: An agenda revealed.

*

On 3 January 1901, it was stated in the Auckland Weekly News that, in New Zealand, there was some 20 million pounds of surplus capital "for which its owners cannot find profitable employment" because there was claimed to be a lack of industrial opportunities (1). The editorial further stated that even if quick profit might not be "soon in evidence", that such capital should be invested by "stimulating government to make available for settlement all waste lands that it could possibly buy". The editorial ended by showing that export returns had increased to 13,477,966 pounds in 1900 from 10,932,302 from 1899. More than what could be termed a slight increase. The statement was not just an Editorial comment in passing. It expressed a salient point in Maori/Pakeha relations as they were represented in the media. Historically, that statement stood between two points: the 1860s conflicts in which the Maori fought the Pakeha to retain substantive sovereignty over their land and a later Editorial expression which the Weekly's daily arm, the New Zealand Herald published on 21 October 1930. The latter Editorial had moved away from the notion that land had to be freed up for individual settlers. The 1930 Editorial was an extrapolation of the 1901 Editorial comment which revealed the agenda of the capitalist elite in this nation. The Herald appears to have

accelerated moving in this direction following the 29 October 1921 Editorial which chronicled the fact that the land left to the Maori was about eight percent of what it had been in 1840. The great depression was an ideal time for the suggestion that land exploitation be left fully in the hands of those who held capital. Certainly, a parallel can be drawn between the 1930 Editorial and the 3 January 1901 Editorial in which the Herald exhorted the government to make "waste lands" available to large capitalists.

In contrast to the vast majority of previous media opinion on the subject of the exploitation of land, the 1930 Editorial stated quite categorically that the individual white settler was practically redundant. It called for large corporations to develop and exploit land. What both articles indicate is the focus of an economic agenda as expressed by what had become New Zealand's largest and most wide-reaching media conglomerate - the Wilson and Horton group.

The Weekly's 3 January 1901 article gives evidence that, at that point in time, the agenda of the economic elite was both in train and on schedule. The article stated:

The withdrawal of capital from certain [industrial] directions has stimulated application to country settlement, but [financial] return from that cannot be expected to soon be in evidence. However, it must be

manifest to all parties upon what the colony's welfare and prosperity is based. The history of the past few years should stimulate Government to make available all the waste lands which it can possibly buy. (2 and special footnote)

The agenda that the 3 January 1901 article in the Auckland Weekly News suggests is the strategy pursued generally by the economic elite. This strategy included the expectation of a gradual rather than a sudden transference of wealth to the Pakeha. The article suggests that, initially, the profit from the "waste" lands to be alienated from the Maori would not come quickly. That much, it appears, was *fully* expected - perhaps even planned for by capitalists here. It was from this slow but *sustained* development that the real and continuous wealth was expected to flow. Indeed, it was a cheaper alternative by far to lobby for, and to encourage, the undertaking of *initial* land development by settlers rather than by commercial enterprise.

In the new century then, according to William Berry (3), the editor of the New Zealand Herald, the role of the press was to inculcate ideas which were consistent with the agenda of the elite. Berry preferred to call such ideas "public opinion".

According to Berry, the press was:

a medium...by which public opinion is made manifest...We can hardly overestimate the importance of journalistic influences...In the ultimate, the press crystallises unformed public opinion and expresses formed public

opinion.(4)

Berry's point of view is important as it provides some insight into the relationship between newspaper owners and newspaper editors. In Berry's case, and he is among the most prominent of New Zealand press editors, it could be argued that he was a company man whose views reflected that of his superiors. Just as the Herald's founder, W.C. Wilson, had ensured his paper's rise to popularity by taking a militant position against the Maori in the 1860s, so Berry took a similar stance as sub-editor of the Southern Cross by advocating the extermination of Maori women and children (5). Although Berry's listing in Department of Internal Affairs' The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography states that he later "moderated his earlier attitude to Maori" (6), until his death in 1903, his editorials supported the Herald's general and unrelenting position on total Maori land alienation. Berry's passing made little difference to the direction of the Herald campaign, although it must be said that, under his successors, William S. Douglas, William Lane, and R.M.Hackett the tone did become more aggressive still as is evidenced in the Appendix. Lane is described as being a "strong imperialist" (7). Hackett was the author of the 29 October 1921 Editorial calling for the completion of total land alienation "without delay or timidity". It can be said then, that considering the consistency of the material produced by these editors over such an extended period, that their opinion reflected that of the newspaper's controllers

themselves.

Considering what has just been stated, it needs to be said, however, that there is a wide gap between what the press wrote and who it wrote for at the beginning of the 1840s and who comprised that audience at the beginning of the new century. Of all the newspapers which were set up in the colony from 1840, the second New Zealand Herald alone, founded and directed by William Chisholm Wilson in 1863, appeared able to recognise, articulate and direct what was "uncrystallised" public opinion and transform that into the "crystallised". Generally, there was practically no reliance upon illustrations in the press to achieve this at that time.

Wilson began his association with Herald newspapers sometime around October 1841 as a compositor for the first New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette. Generally, that paper was simply referred to as the "Herald" or the "New Zealand Herald". The first Herald began publication in Auckland in July 1841 with a paid subscription base of 250. At that time, the British population of the region was around 1500 persons. The Herald mainly reached those of means: "men of ability and higher-than-average-education" (8). Indeed, they needed to be with a single copy price of a shilling - approximately an hour's wage for a tradesperson (9). Wilson learned a valuable lesson during his initial work at the first Herald - a lesson which he applied

to his great profit when he came to found the second Herald. Wilson learned that newspapers needed to be cheap and they needed to circulate widely among those who would be the main "vehicle" for change in the colony - ordinary people. At the same time, it appears that Wilson appreciated - as did other newspaper publishers - that it was possible to control that "vehicle" via the media to a greater rather than a lesser degree.

Despite the first Herald being "an equal partnership between [Government] officials and the commercial community" (10) and that partnership providing the Herald with a much needed 1,948 pound Government printing contract, the paper was shut down on 6 April 1842 "because its outspokenness incurred government displeasure" according to the second Herald (11). More specifically, it was the then Editor, Samuel Martin who incurred the displeasure. He ascribed land shortages in the colony at that time not to:

the longstanding Pakeha ground of complaint, the governmental refusal to recognise the validity of any purchase until an official enquiry had been made and a grant issued. He looked directly at Auckland and attacked the considerable irregularities and apparent official corruption in the allocation of land there. (12)

It was an act that Martin himself described as one in which "the Government [acted] to suppress the expression of public opinion through the Press" (13). Much of what Martin wrote was indeed

true. However,

This criticism was intolerable to the Government. Martin was dismissed, the paper closed down and the plant land and buildings purchased by the Crown Colony Government. (14)

The line was therefore drawn at this point between the Auckland interests who had the potential power to exploit "the one commodity absolutely indispensable to settlement" (15) and, therefore, its resource wealth, and a number of individuals who held positions of responsibility in the Colonial Government. Such government men included the Surveyor-General Felton Mathew and Colonial Secretary Willoughby Shortland who, "by their selfish pursuit of personal gain" (16), incited other colonists to push for a level of alienation of Maori land which was not tempered either by reason or consideration for the needs nor desires of the tangata whenua. Although the first Herald stated in its initial prospectus that "one of our chief objects is the improvement and civilisation of the Aboriginal population", the paper did not shrink from suggesting exploitation of Maori as a source of cheap labour. In an Editorial published on 24 July 1841, it was suggested that a small percentage of revenue which the Crown collected from the sale of land it acquired from Maori should be set aside to employ Maori road gangs - that "by judicious management much may be done by the natives at small expense" (17).

William C. Wilson, from among the many early newspaper people, recognised and harnessed a potent force. He understood that directing public opinion through the mass media - although *apparently* indirect - directly influenced events. He appears to have recognised that the closure of the first Herald in Auckland in 1842 had undermined the government in the eyes of the colonists at that time. He fully recognised that "uncrystallised" public opinion held the latent power to influence - even bring down governments - in order that the changes desired by those who represented media and business interests could be pursued in the name of democracy and "the will of the people". Wilson's experiences while he was with the first Herald directed his path in the founding of the second Herald : its naming and his selection of a partner who clearly insisted upon newspaper staff keeping politics and media work as separate spheres . The demise of the first Herald and the events surrounding it would not have been stale - or easily forgotten - by a readership base which perceived that the paper's predecessor had been shut down more for exposing unscrupulous Government representatives' land dealing for personal gain than for anything else. That readership perceived the first Herald had acted in the interest of the settlers. Evidence that these events might have influenced Wilson's naming of the second Herald will be shown further on.

Following the demise of the first Herald, Wilson joined John Williamson, the five times Superintendent of Auckland Province

as co-proprietor of the New Zealander in 1848. Williamson had founded that paper in 1845. It appears that, for Wilson, the partnership was a marriage of convenience - albeit a rather long one. However, what followed indicates that Wilson's "hiatus" was a developmental one. During that time, it appears that a fully matured media strategy was produced - one which Wilson's successors follow to this day.

By the time that the hostilities for sovereignty over land began in the 1860s, the New Zealander, under Williamson its founder, was expressing its reservations about pursuing Maori land by way of war. Wilson however clearly saw which way the wind of public opinion was blowing. He had built up enough capital during his years with the New Zealander when he chose to make his decisive move. The New Zealander, because of its "friendly attitude toward the Maoris in connection with the Taranaki troubles alienated a large section of the community"(18). Wilson quickly disassociated himself from Williamson by announcing publicly that

His own views were out of harmony with those proclaimed by the New Zealander... Wilson dissolved the partnership and founded the Herald...his vigorous conduct of the new journal quickly won it friends while the prestige of the New Zealander declined to such an extent that, on the destruction of the [New Zealander's] premise by fire in 1866 it ceased publication. (19)

Wilson's apparent agenda clearly demonstrated how such a powerful

politically-connected man as Williamson could be brought down by public opinion. It also showed how an astute media magnate could be propelled to domination of the main means by which public opinion was influenced and formed at that time. Wilson initially told the public what they wanted to hear: "on the native question there can be no doubt - faced with war, it must be carried out with unrelaxing vigour" (20). While this was indeed the general public opinion of the time, it was also one of those rare times when the agenda of the business elite - which included the media - was expressed as the naked truth.

Following the hostilities of the 1860s for sovereignty over land, and the subsequent confiscations of land which the Crown embarked on, Wilson's plans were expanded to include Alfred George Horton in a partnership of the Herald. Horton had founded the Timaru Herald in 1864 and was co-proprietor of the Thames Advertiser. He subsequently bought the Southern Cross in 1876. The Southern Cross was the sole survivor of the newspapers established in Auckland province in the early 1840s - having been established by William Brown, one of the first Herald's largest shareholders. Brown sold the Southern Cross to Julius Vogel in 1869. Brown held numerous political offices from 1844 and became the Member of the House of Representatives for the City of Auckland in 1853. The Southern Cross was made a daily in 1862. After the demise of the New Zealander by fire in 1866, it was the Herald's only real competitor. The years of internecine contest influenced by petty

personal business competition was now much more focused. The media generally would come to be influenced, then, dominated by two individuals who could see the larger picture and the prize: control of the nation's land and resources via the press.

The Herald and the Southern Cross did not contest. They were merged. The Southern Cross' last lead was " Provincialism is dead" (21). Whilst that sentiment was not true at the time, it was the shape of things to come and the new proprietors knew it. Wilson and Horton understood that newspapers were no longer the preserve of an educated elite. The price of a paper was 3d. in 1863 and was reduced to 2d. by 1883. This price reduction can partly be explained by technological advances. However, the merger of 1876 was followed by compulsory primary education legislation in 1877. More and more literate consumers and voters whose allegiance could be claimed were being produced every year. From this development a trend away from more scholarly and literary journalism became apparent. Language and content were modified to communicate ideas to a newly educated and enfranchised mass market of consumers.

Given the changes, it is perhaps surprising that photographs and the caricatures which evolved into the type of cartoons produced by the Herald artist Trevor Lloyd from 1903 (22) were so late in their coming. A reason given is that "editors...thought them unnecessary and beneath the dignity of a serious newspaper" (23).

Indeed, the influencing of public opinion was seen as a serious business - despite the irony that the more regular use of cartoon humour would have probably increased circulation earlier if figures from the 20th century are any indication. However, the policy goals of the Herald were clear at the time and not to be diminished by cartoon humour as the Herald itself explained in 1933:

in framing and directing...future development, no influence was more potent than that of the New Zealand Herald...in furthering [this] policy, the proprietors [of the Herald] despatched commissioners into every corner of the province...exploring every reasonable avenue for the exploitation of the wealth of the land. (24)

Again, according to the Herald itself, Trevor Lloyd's and others artists' work was introduced to readers "rather hesitatingly" (25). At least, that is what the Herald claims that its position was. If Lloyd's work is any measure to go by however, that expression may not be wholly true. If such were the case, It does not explain why much of Lloyd's work - popular with the mass readership and copyrighted to the Herald - was published in other forms such as postcards from around 1905 for national distribution. Such work became synonymous with the Herald and its national magazine the Auckland Weekly News. In addition, the Herald profited financially and politically by spreading its ideology far beyond Auckland Province. It is more probable that the delayed introduction of such visual imagery was simply the

result of belated realisation by an otherwise remarkably perceptive business management of the role that cartoons could play in communicating the Herald's message about land.

As all land was sourced ultimately from the Maori, it would be reasonable to ask what the "crystallised" public opinion about the Maori, as communicated through the press, was. Media messages varied and were not always hostile toward Maori. In fact, it should be mentioned that, around Otago, where the main competition centred around gold, the first types of hard racist cartoon satire focused more upon the Chinese than it did the Maori. The Dunedin Punch ran such cartoons as early as 1865. The two cartoons shown as Figure page#8 are a clear indication of this. It is noteworthy that the term "The Coming Man" is used. In this case, it acts as a foil to figure page#1. That cartoon it will be remembered, depicted John Macandrew as the positive British model of "The Coming Man" in this nation's first socio-political cartoon.

The thrust and emphasis of such cartoons as those on figure page #8 - and even the cartoon on figure page #1 left little room for doubt as to how the colonists perceived their identity. New Zealand's identity was British and Imperial. Indeed, it has been argued that the White "New Zealander" never really lived (26) and that this nation was nothing more than:

an exemplar of modern capitalist expansion. the creature of



THE COMING MAN'S ARRIVAL.

MR. PURNELL, AS CHIEF OF THE BOARD OF COMMERCE, RECEIVING THE AMBASSADOR OF HIS CELESTIAL MAJESTY THE BROTHER OF THE SUN ON HIS MISSION TO OPEN NEGOTIATIONS WITH OTAGO.



CATCHING A TARTAR.

an Imperialism whose criterion...was profit (27).

In order to emphasise Pakeha Britishness, which came to be encapsulated in the press by continual reference to the power of the British Empire, a contrast was required - a perception of the 'other'. One 'contrast' was found in skin colour. Other perceived differences appeared to follow "naturally" from there. as mentioned earlier, perhaps the initial tirade at those of yellow skin - the Chinese - in the Dunedin Punch can be seen to be connected with Chinese competition to White aspirations to wrest gold from the lands of Otago - themselves unjustly obtained from the Kai Tahu. However, as material presented from the London Punch indicates, such attitudes toward Chinese were brought to New Zealand in any case as cultural baggage by the settlers.

The Maori in turn came to be personified as black-skinned - as "niggers" - well before the epithet "sun-tanned Anzac" was heard. Indeed, as will be shown, Maori were compared to other "niggers" of the Empire in socio-political cartoons published by the Herald and other New Zealand papers from about 1903. Despite the importation to New Zealand of the negative cultural baggage regarding indigenous peoples, the real issues were not skin colour or cultural differences per se. It was lands, resources and the question of who would control them. The media merely used references to colour to argue that the Maori numbered among the races which had not evolved sufficiently enough so as to manage

their own material affairs. This point was forcefully made in the 29 June 1905 editorial of the Weekly which claimed that "Maori people today are by no means civilised in any true sense of the word".

The aim of media controllers, then, in directing their socio-political cartoon satire from 1900 was to construct negative images of the Maori, their culture and their attempts to imitate the Pakeha. These ideas were reinforced by combining them with the already stereotypical images of indigenous peoples which most British settlers brought with them to New Zealand. Assimilation itself was targeted for criticism in some socio-political cartoons. Maori were, in effect, damned if they did and damned if they did not accept such a course.

Colonial business interests also pursued an economic agenda, through the media, against Maori interests. They sought to shut out the Maori as a competitor - but not as a *consumer* however. Maori produce was alleged not merely to be inferior. It was declared downright dangerous to public health. Maori animal husbandry was said to be poor. One such attack, made in 1909, is noted here. In the first sentence emphasis is laid upon the "communistic" nature of the Maori:

For lack of a system, the communistic Maori is shut out of many markets. His grain is dirty with weeds. His potatoes ravaged by blight. His milk rejected by the factory because the pa pigs are allowed to wallow in the water supply. His

cattle are tuberculous. His horses have ring bone and all the blemishes of hard riding. His stock is inbred and weak. What does it matter, so that he have enough to live on? There are rents coming in from the Pakeha sections on the river...There is the billiard room...and...if everything else fails, the Kawanatanga...will send potatoes and flour for the winter. Ka pai! it is good! (28)

The allegations made by that writer, it can be seen, are made against the Maori people generally. They are not made against certain individuals. That writer's criticism was not constructive in that he failed to suggest that were both basic and advanced forms of instruction available but which were not generally offered to assist Maori to lift production.

It will be demonstrated in the cartoons that follow in the next chapter that baldly racist sentiment was not as isolated as some would argue that it was. Donald Will argues that, during the period under discussion here, there were "very few occasions when the term "nigger" was used" (29). Indeed, on the surface of it, it appears that Will is correct. However, what calls into question the validity of that assumption is the durability of the role of "nigger" *in the public mind* when Maori were forced to "perform" as such in images that were produced by the media. When the media *did* choose to use term "nigger" openly, it appears to have been at times when media controllers deemed it necessary to reinforce the belief of White superiority. Once these periodic

expressions were made, media controllers appear to have relied, rather confidently it would seem, upon the latent internalised beliefs of the British Pakeha in their "natural" superiority.

The period from 1900 onwards was the new age of the visual medium. Much cartoon humour and photographic imagery as published by the Herald and the Auckland Weekly News sanctioned colonial beliefs in British superiority and reinforced that notion by encouraging colonists to laugh at Maori through what was being implied. Collectively, cartoon images were developed to support the media argument - on behalf of powerful business interests - that the Maori could not manage, develop or progress on their own lands. The media advanced the idea that the Pakeha must do that for them. In the next chapter, it will be clearly shown that the Herald agenda especially called for the full and total alienation of Maori land.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter Three

- (1) Auckland Weekly News - Article "Last Year's Business" 3 January 1901
- (2) Ibid
- (3) served as the Herald's editor from 1878-1903
- (4) New Zealand Herald, Editorial, 10 January 1901
- (5) Department of Internal Affairs, The Dictionary of New Zealand Biography, Vol. 2, Bridget Williams Books, Wellington, 1993, p.38
- (6) Ibid
- (7) G.H. Scholefield, Newspapers in New Zealand, A.H.&A.W. Reed, Wellington, 1958, footnote, p.85
- (8) G.M. Meiklejohn, Early Conflicts of Press and Government: A Story of the first New Zealand Herald and the foundation of Auckland, Wilson and Horton, Auckland 1953, P.4
- (9) Miles Fairburn, The Ideal Society, pp.46-7
- (10) G.M. Meiklejohn, Early Conflicts of Press and Government, p.22
- (11) The New Zealand Herald: the Story of a Newspaper and the Wilson and Horton Group, Wilson and Horton, 1983p.8
- (12) Patrick Day - The Making of the New Zealand Press 1840-1880 p.18
* The editor referred here to the new government's decision to investigate all pre-annexation purchases and to limit the amount of land that would be granted to each applicant
- (13) New Zealand Herald and Auckland Gazette 23 February 1842
- (14) Patrick Day, The Making of the New Zealand Press 1840-1880, p.18
- (15) G.M.Meiklejohn - Early Conflicts of Press and Government p. 41
- (16) Ibid p.59
- (17) Ibid p.24
- (18) New Zealand Herald - "The Foundation and the Rise of the Herald" The New Zealand Herald 70th Anniversary 1863-1933

Edition , Wison and Horton, Auckland 1933, p.5

(19) Ibid p.5

(20) Ibid

(21) G.H. Scholefield, Newspapers in New Zealand, p.79

(22) The New Zealand Herald: The Story of the Newspaper and the Wilson and Horton Group , p.8

(23) Ibid

(24) New Zealand Herald 70th Anniversary 1863-1933 Edition p.41

(25) The New Zealand Herald: The Story of A Newspaper and the Wilson and Horton Group , p.8

(26) Stevan Eldred-Grigg - "Bourgeois Blue? : Nationalism and Letters from the 1920s to 1950s", Landfall , #163, Sept. 1987, p.309

(27) Ibid p.299

(28) G.H. Scholefield - New Zealand in Evolution quoted in F.W. Keesing, The Changing Maori , Board of Ethnological Research, Thos. Avery , New Plymouth 1928, p.86

(29) Donald Will - Stereotypes of Maori Held by Europeans , Massey University, M.A. Thesis 1973, p.36

SPECIAL FOOTNOTE:

Additional comment is necessary regarding the full historical and financial ramifications of the mass alienation of Maori land which media crusades helped to achieve. it may be argued that the result is highlighted by the present controversy over the 1994-1995 one billion dollar "fiscal envelope" proposal. That proposal, it is understandably being argued by some Maori, forms a part legacy of the media agenda which being discussed here in that it continues to avoid the full responsibilities of partnership owed the tangata whenua under the Treaty of Waitangi. The point is there are too many historians, politicians and media connected writers who, for a variety of reasons, insist upon calling a pre-decimal pound two dollars.

It is a central point of this thesis that the reader understand monetary values expressed herein in *modern terms*. The point applies especially to amounts such as the 20 million pounds of "surplus capital" which is mentioned in the 1901 Weekly Editorial. It is imperative to give consideration to the scope of what such figures represent in modern terms in order to understand in monetary terms the extent of Maori dispossession.

In Britain, its colonies and, indeed, in all world powers until the early 1930's, there was in place a bi-metallic monetary

system based upon gold and silver. The sum of 20 million pounds was over 4,708,000 troy ounces of pure gold (*). This amount of gold is over three billion dollars in modern terms. Today, gold is traded as a commodity; a resource if one cares to be more specific - and the role of the control of resources is a central issue in this thesis. In this *single* resource, in a 13 year period between 1857 and 1870, the Pakeha removed more than five million troy ounces from South Island Kai Tahu lands alone (**). Viewed nationally, the economic loss to Maori as a result of the alienation of their land - a process influenced and accelerated through the media - is today, perhaps incalculable.

(*) based on .2354 troy ounces of gold per sovereign or pound

(**) W.J. Gardner "A Colonial Economy", The Oxford History of New Zealand, 1988, pp.66-67

Chapter Four

Wilson and Horton Narrows the Focus and Widens its Audience.

It will be remembered from the cartoon shown as figure page #6 that not a few media controllers necessarily agreed that the assimilation of the Maori - especially as equals - was an acceptable option. As well as assimilationism, a virulent form of racism could also be said to have existed and, even, promoted in New Zealand during this period - a form of "prejudice plus power". As mentioned in the preface, the definition of racism here is taken from Spoonley. That is to say, "racism" is "prejudice plus power" (1). Basically, in the case of the Pakeha, they became "a majority group...[that is] politically, economically and ideologically dominant" (2) in part, at least, by the pursuit of a value system which they brought to New Zealand as cultural baggage. The media played no small part in reinforcing those notions. Alongside the racist view then, images depicting a vision of the ideal assimilationist view of the Maori/Pakeha relationship will be discussed to provide a balance. Such imagery, perhaps not surprisingly, was produced by a non-Herald artist. He appears only to have been known by the nom-de-plume of "Schatz". This is not that uncommon - many cartoons of this earlier period were not signed with the artist's full name - some were not signed at all. They cannot therefore, with any certainty, be ascribed. "Schatz" produced a cartoon for the New Zealand Graphic in 1900. It was entitled "How we see it" and is shown as figure page #9.



HOW WE SEE IT.

THE OGRE: "Come into these arms."
NEW ZEALAND: "Nay, sir, those arms bear chains."

In this cartoon, an opinion is being expressed that the Maori was no more than an innocent child which needed both protection from, and instruction upon, the evils of the world at large. White, British, Christian New Zealand, it was asserted, was eminently suited for the task. In a cartoon which deals mainly with the proposed merger of New Zealand with the state of New South Wales within a federated Australia, New Zealand fights off its own assimilation by arguing that the Australian "ogre" will ravish- perhaps even rape- the Maori child. It could be argued - as Keith Sinclair appears to suggest (3) - that "White New Zealand Personified" is holding the hand of a Polynesian - signifying its colonial aspirations in the Pacific. Sinclair chose to have this cartoon reproduced in A Destiny Apart (4) but did not comment on its meaning. The palm trees behind "White New Zealand's" charge and the flower wreath around the young woman's neck indeed seem to support his view. However, it is possible to suggest a different interpretation if we take the following into account:

1.) Figure page #10 illustrates two postcards. Card one was produced in France and is from a Paris Salon artist E. Vernon. It was originally produced in the 1890s and precedes the "Scatz" cartoon. A number of such cards circulated and were sent to New Zealand by friends and family to help those disconnected from the mainstream of fashion catch up with the trends. Card two is a Pakeha produced postcard depicting "A Maori Belle". It was posted in 1904. Not only does the model appear to be more European



#1.



#2

than Maori, she is posed in a "Paris Salon" influenced style. The Maori woman does not wear flowers around her neck as did say, Hawaiians, but she wears them in her hair as did Tahitians for example. The construct was a Pakeha one which appears to have been influenced both by fashion and Pakeha control of the print medium. To underscore this point it should be added that the "Maori Belle" postcard originally appeared as part of a collage on page 7 of the Auckland Weekly News on 19 March 1903 - a year before the postcard was mailed.

2.) Even assimilationists, while they may not have subscribed to the notion that all non-White subjects of the British Empire were "niggers", believed they all needed the paternalistic hand of White guidance. I would suggest that "White New Zealand's" charge is Maori - but one portrayed so as to suggest the view that all Pacific Islanders could use assimilating and protection from negative influences such as the one depicted in the cartoon on figure page #11. In that illustration, Richard Goodall, in a 1907 issue of the New Zealand Truth, depicts what *appears to be* New Zealand as personified by a Maori woman. However, it is the map which is labelled "New Zealand" in contrast to "Scatz's" White personification bearing that identification upon her crown. The Maori woman in Goodall's cartoon is being depicted falling victim to the "Chinese octopus". She



THE YELLOW PERIL.

is falling victim to Greed, Licentiousness, Opium, Evil habits and the like. In effect, the image makes a double-pronged point - Maori needed protection from their own "natural" weaknesses and the country ought to keep Chinese out.

Goodall's imagery is completed by the figure of an "ogre" - Australia - replete with coarse hair which forms horns. Australia is a brutish male possessing a Neanderthal's sloped forehead. The chains may not merely be suggesting that Australia would bind New Zealand, its charge and, therefore, its mission - whatever that may have been. The chains may also suggest Australia's convict past - implying that Australia was not a very good example to follow into a partnership of Federation.

Contrasted with the Australian image is the representation of 'fair' New Zealand and the child-like Maori whose innocence is manifest in her nakedness. Her grass skirt and bare breasts are again contrasted by the pure white, flowing robes of the protective "mother" New Zealand. Only she knows what is good and right for her child. I.F. Grant's assessment of the image was that there may have been some ulterior motive to it. However, he focused simply on New Zealand's fear that they would be "swamped by Australia's size, population and resources" (5).

Cartoon imagery gave rise to other forms of media produced



Plate #1

A YOUNG NEW ZEALANDER.



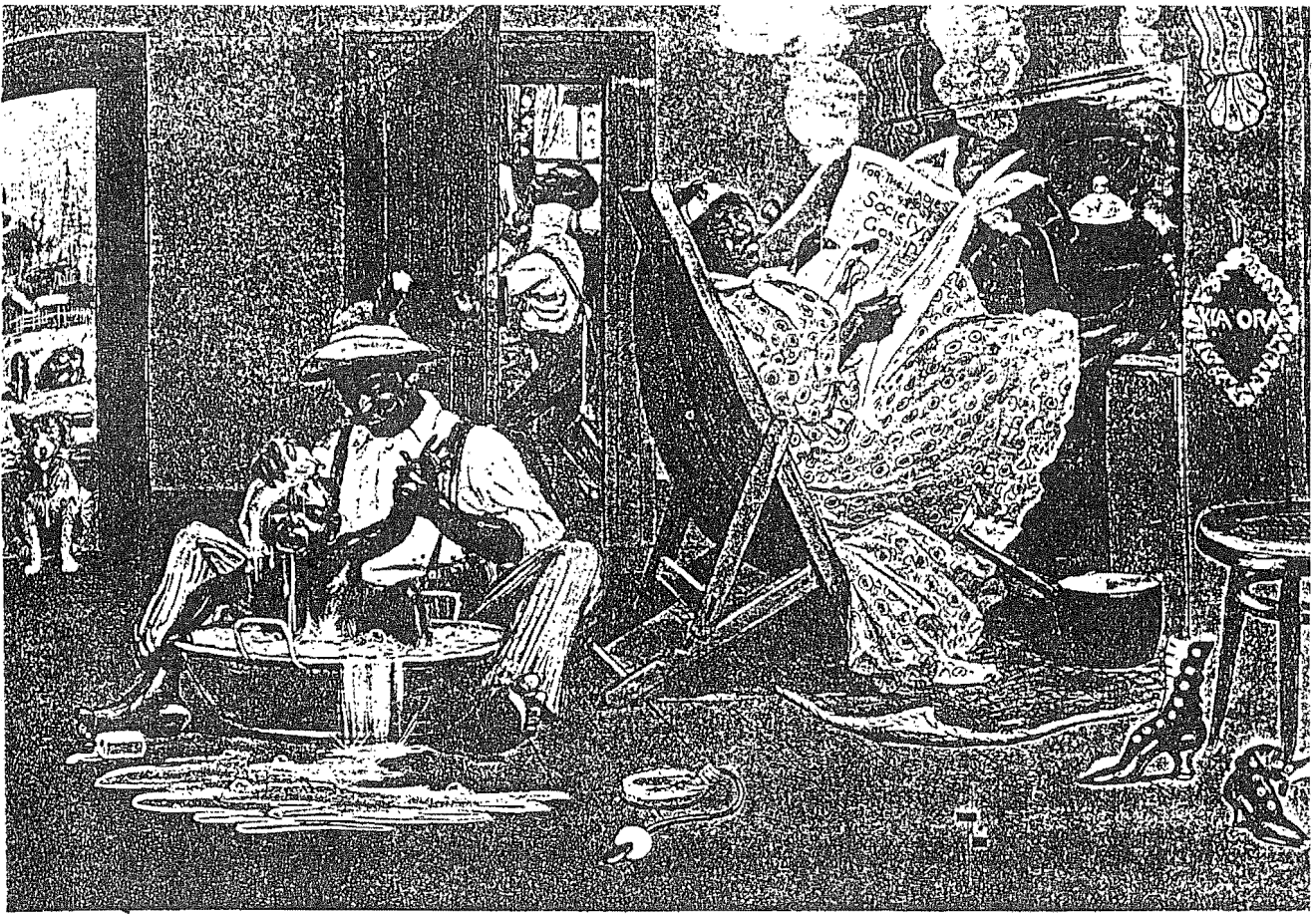
Plate #2

"TENAKOE!" (Greeting).

*Wishing you a Happy
New Year. From Leo.*

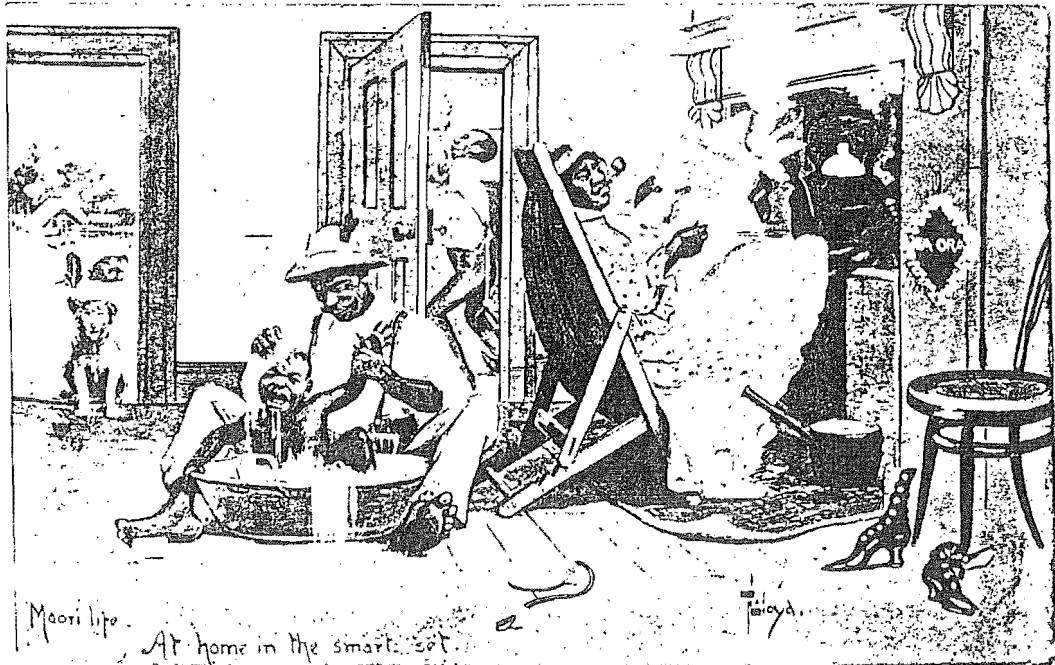
material which carried both assimilationist points of view, perspectives counter to that view, and straight-out racist messages. They are all important and relevant to socio-political cartoons. One reason is that many such images - especially postcards - were the products of newspapers firms or they were by-products of images or articles which were carried in some newspapers. An example of paternal, well-meaning assimilationism is illustrated on Figure page #12. It depicts two postcards of the period 1900 to 1905. plate #1 is an image of the ideal New Zealand lad of good British stock. plate #2 is an image of the ideally assimilated Maori lad complete with a tweed sailor suit.

Figure page #13, on the other hand, gives a very clear contrast. It clearly shows how the Herald agenda was to utilise humour to aid a simultaneously written campaign aimed at alienating Maori lands. Plate #1 is a Trevor Lloyd cartoon published in the 23 January 1906 edition of the Auckland Weekly News. The cartoon satirises a Maori family's attempts at sophistication. The woman is especially targeted as the butt of Lloyd's humour. She sits with her legs elevated and wide apart. She is smoking a pipe and reading the "For the Ladies: Society Gossip" pages of an unnamed publication. Next to her sit a "real" lady's shoes. Lloyd makes it apparent that the Maori woman's wide feet would never fit the shoes of the "real" lady who, although it is unspoken, is Pakeha. These images are symbolic and form the main message of this cartoon. The postcard shown in plate #2 was produced using the



THE MODERN MAORI: A FAMILY SCENE IN THE SMART SET.

23 January, 196



Maori life. At home in the smart set.

Maori.

what is, *apparently*, the same cartoon. It is postmarked sixteen months later: 25 May 1907. What is noteworthy is that Lloyd must have been asked to redraw the cartoon again for distribution through the mail. This is evidenced by variations in the two drawings such as the puddle around the wash tub, the caption and the signature on each illustration. Between the publication in which the cartoon originally appeared and the postcard, it can be seen that the desired image received the widest possible circulation.

While media messages were, at times, apparently contradictory as to whether the Pakeha should assimilate the Maori for "their own good", or to simply let "nature" take its course and let the Maori die as a race, it appears that there was always one common thread: a general belief that the Maori did not possess the competence to determine their own destiny. The Herald, especially, drove that message home using the coordinated efforts of both writer and illustrator.

Some of the more regular cartoon images and photographs which abounded in the press during this period focused upon the Maori as the "boy" or as a "buffoon". Other images presented in the media as so-called "crystallised" public opinion included the previously mentioned view that the Maori and other Polynesians were, simply, "niggers" (6).

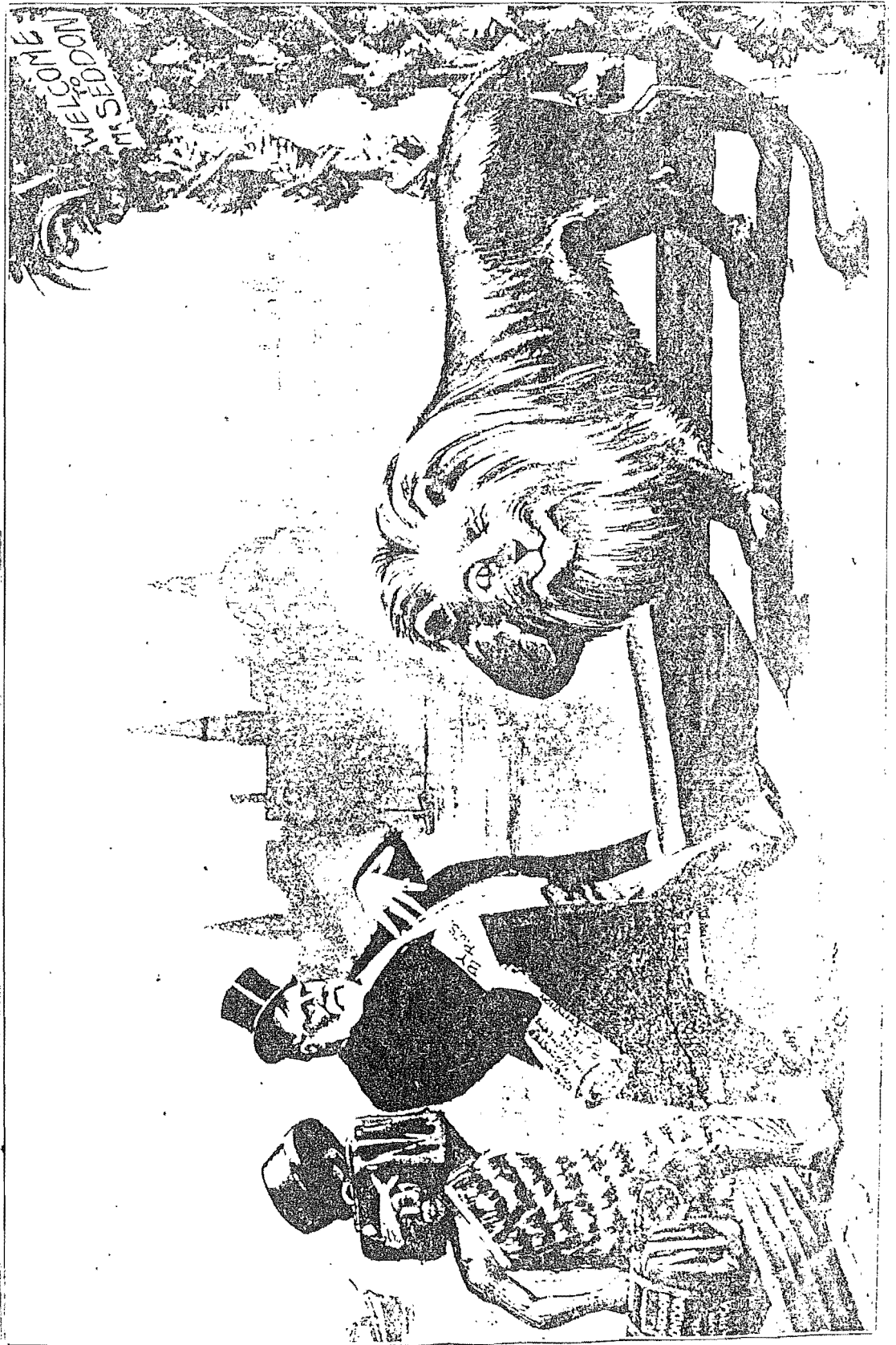
The continual messages which were beaten out upon the modern White man's drum of communication, the press, were messages such as this: "bilingualism [is a] threat to English progress" (7). Another was, according to R.J.Seddon, that each Commonwealth nation needed to be:

maintained as a White man's country...that evils now found in older lands do not take root. (5 and appendix)

Seddon had been speaking on the need for Commonwealth nations such as Australia to avoid some of the pitfalls which had divided other nations such as the newly "freed" South Africa. He believed that divisions such as cultural and linguistic ones prevented White British Commonwealth nations from being "Great Anglo-Saxon powers" (8) The Herald echoed Seddon's sentiment in their 3 January 1921 Editorial when elections were being held in South Africa. It was stated that:

the campaign promises to exceed in determination and bitterness any that has yet taken place in that country of bi-lingualism and divided allegiance (9).

Such attitudes were instrumental in aiding the maintenance of government policies designed to achieve a type of assimilationism in New Zealand which saw the decline of Maori language and culture here because race and language of a type other than English was viewed as a threat to progress. They bolstered and reinforced the notion of British superiority and were perpetuated through the press in both written and pictorial mediums.



There should be but little wonder then at the manner in which Seddon is depicted in figure page #14 as he arrives in June 1902 in London for a meeting of the leaders of the British Empire. The unsigned Auckland Weekly News cartoon is most likely the work of either Trevor Lloyd or E.F. Hiscocks. More likely, it is Lloyd's however, judging from its content. It appears that Hiscocks left the Auckland Weekly News around 1902, just after Lloyd became the staff cartoonist there. While it is difficult to be certain as to the cartoon's origin, Lloyd was very much in his ascendancy in his chosen genre. Lloyd's prolific and irreverent cartoon satire has, in modern times, been described as "overtly racist" (10). He cartooned for the Auckland Weekly News from 1903 and its daily sister publication, the New Zealand Herald almost until his death in 1937. His work will be discussed in depth further on.

The figure #14 cartoon depicts Seddon arriving with his native Maori porter in tow. The Premier is greeted by a saluting, winking British lion upon his arrival for the 1903 Imperial Conference with a scroll which reads: "Some Suggested Improvements in the British Constitution by P.J.S.". Whether Seddon's expectations were the joke or it is the Maori who is the joke appears difficult to ascertain. However, the important aspect here is the presentation by the artist of his conception of how colonists viewed "their" Maori. If this conceptualisation is compared with the one presented on figure page #15, which is a British artist's conceptualisation of "our" Maori, one can



A MAORI SENTRY AT BUCKINGHAM PALACE AS LONDONERS WILL EXPECT HIM TO APPEAR

clearly perceive a completely different presentation of indigenous New Zealanders.

The artist who drew figure #15, Harry Rountree, created a strong, vibrant Maori representative who exudes prides and mana in a cartoon reproduced in the Auckland Weekly News on 21 June 1902. Where it originally appeared is not known. However, the artist did not work in New Zealand. What is likely is that, in this rather uncommon instance, Wilson and Horton chose to run what is a very flattering depiction of the Maori. However, the motivation was probably more to expose White New Zealanders to a positive British perception of "our" Maori than as a positive expression about Maori in *their own right*.

In Rountree's work, the warrior stands alone; not in the shadow of any master. Indeed, *this* Maori has replaced a guard at Buckingham Palace. The image appears to suggest that His Majesty would be just as happy to have this Maori warrior guard him as he would one of his own guards. The ironic element here is that Rountree made his career as a comic artist (11) yet, clearly, this particular cartoon is not a comic piece of work. It is, rather, a much more respectful approach to the image of the Maori. This could perhaps be attributed, in part, to the hard-won reputation which the Maori earned in the eyes of the British as a brave and honourable adversary during the wars of the 1860s. At the same time, there was "a perpetuation of bitterness" in the

hearts and minds of many New Zealand Pakeha (12). In much of the New Zealand media, especially in the North Island, that legacy of bitterness appears to have been exploited in written texts and in cartoons (13). Unlike the British cartoon image, the hard public attitudes were fed by a general diet produced for public consumption by the giant Wilson and Horton group to keep the pressure on the government to alienate Maori land.

The legacy of those conflicts was the butt of the so-called humorous side of much socio-political cartoon satire. Despite the positive British view of the Maori then, further land alienation as well as cultural and economic campaigns would be pursued against the Maori through the general media, and by Wilson and Horton particularly.

The method by which such negative humour worked and was perpetuated can be illustrated by two apparently unrelated media items. The first is an article, the second is a cartoon. The article, which contains stereotypical negative connotations about the Maori and their use of alcohol, appeared in the New Zealand Herald in 1901. The cartoon appeared in the Auckland Weekly News in 1903. The article, entitled "**New Zealand to the Fore**" with a sub-title "**Mystified Maoris**", dealt with a visit to Queensland by the Native Minister James Carroll who was accompanied by a group of Maori. The following comparison between the Australian Aborigine and the Maori were made:



WEATHER
CAPTAIN EDWIN'S
FORECAST
GLASS RISING
FINE

KAPAI TE
WEATHER FOR DUCKS

A BRISTOL NEW IN THE KING CARP

Maori chiefs...expressed admiration for the physique of the Aboriginal...What did the Aboriginal think of his Maori brother? In plain English - "no good, his stomach was too big...too much beer". Besides, the get-up of the Maori puzzled him. A brother savage in a bell topper and frock coat was too much for him.(14)

The figure #16 cartoon by Trevor Lloyd which appeared on Christmas Eve of 1903, depicts a Maori clutching a holed umbrella in one hand whilst sitting under a downpipe that is gushing a torrent of water down upon his head as he sits in the pouring rain. In the other hand, the Maori holds a bottle of beer. The sign reveals what is, ostensibly, the "weather" forecast. However, the obvious meaning is a forecast for the future in the fullest sense of the word: "glass rising fine". It is an allusion to the beer bottle and Pakeha expectations of the Maori generally. The Maori is surrounded by ducks and doesn't appear to have the sense to come in out of the rain. The caption reads "Kapai Te Weather For Ducks". Underneath the cartoon, the Auckland Weekly News editor had this heading added in a matter-of-fact and unsympathetic manner: "A Christmas scene in the King Country".

In addition to the successive flow of written and artist-drawn materials which Wilson and Horton, in particular, appear to have produced most prolifically, there can be further added material of the newer technology in print, that of photography. It had a

new and novel effect upon cartoon images in that photographs coming into a newspaper could themselves be caricaturised as will soon be shown. In this area too, it appears that endeavours were made to reinforce negative stereotypes of the Maori and their cultures.

Figure page #17 illustrates an Auckland Weekly News "comic study" which was published on 11 September 1902. In this photograph, a group of Pakeha denigrate the true haka. Describing the "true" haka is, admittedly, difficult. Perhaps this is because there are few definitive works on this culturally rich, diverse and ever evolving form of cultural expression. It may suffice to say that the haka allows each separate iwi to demonstrate their own distinctive gestures, songs, stories and movements. Tiimoti Kaaretu described the haka, after internecine warfare between Maori tribes ceased, as

the generic name for all Maori dance. Today, haka is defined as that part of the Maori dance repertoire where men are to the fore with the women lending vocal support to the rear. Most haka seen today are haka taparahi, haka without weapons. Haka, however, is more than a dance, it is...a message of the soul expressed by words and posture (15).

Maori opinion supports this definition. A Kai Tahu elder, Syd Cormack, in a recent written assessment of a haka pose by Moeraki dancer on a circa 1930 real photo postcard, stated:



'A HAKA AT SEA.' COMIC STUDY.

H. WINGHAM. PH.

The stance is the usual one for a person showing Maori custom of the time, or being asked to pose for a snapshot. It varies as to individual preference. [The subject] is giving his interpretation of how a member of his hapu or tribe would look to others.(16)

General Pakeha cultural ignorance of these parameters is understandable. However, the media had access to a broad range of opinion to consult - including Maori - about the nature of the haka. Such consultation did not appear to be in harmony with the media agenda however. Michael King identifies the purpose of such mass-produced negative cultural images as being two-fold. Firstly, it was profit-driven and, secondly, it was power-reinforcing on the part of the Pakeha (17). Maori were "portrayed as "simple, foolish folk, unable to cope with the complexities of modern civilisation" (18). This is where King's emphasis upon the term "profit-driven" applies. By reinforcing the false assumption that Maori were incapable of managing their own affairs, justification was being offered by Wilson and Horton that Maori land ought to be alienated for the good of the Maori and for the sake of progress. The Pakeha, as the Weekly's example illustrates, aped what they led to believe was childish or savage behaviour. Such demonstrations only further denigrated the value of the Maori cultures in Pakeha eyes and ultimately, the media controllers' case for total land alienation appear all the more credible.

Figure Page # 18 illustrates two more "comic" haka. The captions, using the colour contrasts "black" and "white" are actually closer to the truth of the seriousness of their message than the "humour" they purport to be conveying . Again, they are products of the Auckland Weekly News and were published on 15 May 1902. The pair of photographs appeared side by side and are entitled: "A Haka for a Penny: "Black" " and "A Haka for a Penny: "White". The existence of a "colour line" is emphasised in these images. They are prime examples of media hypocrisy which tended to obscure the true agenda. Yet alongside these may be placed the New Zealand Herald's description the Maori as "our only distinctive national feature" in an editorial published on 21 January 1901. That Editorial marked both the visit of the Duke and Duchess of Cornwall and the grand Pan-Maori haka which was performed for them at Rotorua. Yet, that "perfect performance [that] was a matter of tribal honour" (19) was, outside of such Royal affairs, reduced to cheap "Penny Haka" or Pakeha parodies in the press, magazines and on postcards both before and after the Royals had arrived.

To add further insult to this injury, in time of war with other countries, there were numerous instances in which the enemies of the Crown, when depicted in cartoon satire, were shown dancing Maori haka. It was as if the wars of the 1860s had not ended and that any parallels which could be made between the Maori and the real enemy were socially sanctioned. Figure page #19 depicts, on



Plate #1

A POPULAR CARTOON: KRUGER DANCING A HAKA.

Plate #2



plate #1, the Boer President Paul Kruger dancing a war Haka in the 5 June 1902 issue of the Auckland Weekly News. The artist is unknown - but the distinctive style indicates that it is probably an illustration by Trevor Lloyd. Plate #2 is a signed Trevor Lloyd cartoon. It probably appeared in the Auckland Weekly News or as a postcard in the Herald series of postcards which were published by that newspaper about 1918 (20). This was a time when many Maori men were indisputably making the ultimate sacrifice for King and Country. Yet, New Zealand was a country which treated Maori as second-rate citizens and drew parallels between the Maori and the enemy that was killing them.

Such imagery could only be divisive. Even making some allowance for the differences about what is perceived as racist in the present and perceptions during the period under discussion, the imagery remains divisive. It was a case of "prejudice plus power". This process was aided in no small part by domination of all forms of media. From the evidence to hand, it appears that such was the intention of media controllers generally.

The Auckland Weekly News epitomises this sentiment on figure page #20, in the "Nigger Island" cartoon which it published on 30 April 1903. "Nigger Island", on the surface of it, was the creation of artist Trevor Lloyd. It is racism in New Zealand and the South Pacific personified. Indeed, it is more than that. The image shows the transplantation of ideological racial perceptions



THE NEW ZEALAND PARLIAMENTARY CRUISE TO THE ISLANDS.

On the State landing at Nukunua Island was effected with great order. The inhabitants of the island, totalling more than a dozen, were greatly

that had previously been restricted to people of Black African extraction and placed them squarely within New Zealand.

The caption of the of the "Nigger Island" cartoon reads:

"A special wireless message has been received by the editor announcing that the State landing at Nigger Island was effected with great eclat. The inhabitants of the island, totalling more than a dozen, were greatly impressed with New Zealand's Imperial greatness."

This cartoon satirises an historical event - the tour of the South Pacific by a group of New Zealand Parliamentarians in 1903. The general implication in labelling the island "Nigger Island" rather than any one of the true destinations appears to be the notion that, basically, all "niggers" are alike and that they are definitely not in the same class as Whites.

The Auckland Weekly News began 1903 with an Editorial about the import of Asiatics as labour into the South African Rand to work as mining labourers. This editorial pre-dates the "Nigger Island" cartoon by three months. A case could be made for the editorial to be seen as part of an ongoing racialist agenda aimed at national consumption. Many day-to-day articles, Editorials and cartoon satire published in the media which dealt with race may have appeared to the general public to be unrelated. However, connections between the subject matter are easy to detect, and were sometimes specifically stated, as in the 1903 Editorial. The

connection between these articles and any accompanying cartoon satire was part of the ongoing agenda to alienate indigenous peoples worldwide from their lands and their resources. The ideology speaks for itself in this Editorial:

The peoples and rulers of thickly settled Anglo-Saxon countries who "little know of England" because they "only England know" have always had to be taught by their frontier kinsmen that all men are not equal. (21)

In addition to this sentiment, the editorial, while grudgingly acknowledging that work "probably improves [the] Kaffir" (22), nevertheless states categorically that the South African Rand "would become as White a mining field as...the Coromandel" (23). Thus a connection was specifically made between race issues in South Africa and New Zealand.

It can be argued convincingly then that the "Nigger Island" cartoon visually dots the "i's" and crosses the "t's" regarding the earlier written suggestions in the Editorial that "all men are not equal" and that White Anglo Saxon "superiority" was both "natural" and pre-ordained.

The fullest statement of that agenda - total alienation of Maori land - and published as an Editorial in the Herald on 29 October 1921 is highlighted once again. The fuller agenda itself - as near as it can be chronicled - is revealed in Appendix 'A'. What the 29 October 1921 Editorial does is to *clearly articulate* that

agenda. It is a beacon which gives a direction that modern readers of the cartoon satire presented here can follow. Entitled "A Native Land Problem" , It stated:

Since the dawn of European settlement in New Zealand, over 62 million acres of native land have passed to the White man. The Maori estate has thus diminished [further] since 1891:

	<u>Land Held by Maori</u>
1891.. .. .	10,829,486
1911.. .. .	7,137,206
1921.. .. .	4,639,573

It is apparent that the Native Estate can no longer be regarded as inexhaustible. That is no reason that there should be any delay or timidity in settling what remains.

This Editorial, viewed separately, is a startling encapsulation of the social, political and economic agenda of the colonial elite viewed in the context of the chronological series of extracts given in the appendix. Its relative place within that agenda may be appreciated. This is especially true when the very limited extent to which the Maori were able to represent their side of the story is considered. This lack of representation came on three fronts:

* Scarce and selective publication of letters and comments

submitted by Maori to Mainstream publications. The dearth of material in archives speaks for itself.

* The lack of a strong Maori press in the period under discussion and both before and after. Causes can be seen as stemming from the stripping of resources from Maori lands and the resultant poverty caused by being banished to the economic fringes of a society in which they were promised partnership.

*limited reporting in the media of hui and other important Maori events. This had the effect of marginalising Maori culture away from the general public's attention. The potential power of the press to educate the Pakeha public in Maoritanga appears to have been purposefully avoided as is evidenced by the Herald's earlier mentioned Editorial of 3 January 1921 which spoke of the perceived dangers of "bi-lingualism and divided allegiance".

Footnotes- Chapter Four

- (1) Paul Spoonley, Racism and Ethnicity, Oxford University Press, Auckland, 1988, pp.4-5
- (2) Ibid
- (3) Keith Sinclair, A Destiny Apart : New Zealand's Search for a National Identity, Allen & Unwin, Wellington 1986, Ch.8 pp.121-22
- (4) Ibid
- (5) I.F. Grant, The Unauthorized Version : A Cartoon History of New Zealand 1840-1987, pp.76-77
- (6) Auckland Weekly News (Supplement), Trevor Lloyd Cartoon, 30 April 1903
* This cartoon was unable to be properly reproduced due to the poor quality of the microfilm copy
- (7) New Zealand Herald, Editorial, "On the Commonwealth", 4 January 1901
- (8) Ibid
- (9) New Zealand Herald, Editorial, "The South African Issue", 3 January 1921
- (10) Letter, Archivist, The Alexander Turnbull Library, 12 May 1992
- (11) Holt, T. and V., The Stanley Gibbons Postcard Catalogue, 4th ed. , Stanley Gibbons, London 1985
- (12) James Cowan, The New Zealand Wars, Vol 2., Government Printer, Wellington, 1922 and 1983, p.502
- (13) It needs to said that some newspapers, especially in the South Island, were more generally moderate later in the 19th and early 20th centuries - perhaps due to the fact that land had mostly been alienated very early on. Such more moderate publications included the Lyttelton Times for example at those later dates. But even so, even the Lyttelton Times published articles earlier on which talked about "the need to keep Maori in their place" (published 30 April 1856).
- (14) New Zealand Herald, Article, "New Zealand to the Fore", 15 January 1901

- (15) T. Kaaretu, Haka! The Dance of a Noble People, Reed, Auckland 1993, pp. 24-25
- (16) Letter, Kai Tahu elder Syd Cormack , 17 June 1992
- (17) Michael King, Maori: A Photographic and Social History, Auckland 1979, pp.2-3
- (18) Ibid, p.2
- (19) N. Te Awekotuku, " The Sociocultural Impact of Tourism on the Te Arawa People of New Zealand", Ph.D Thesis Psychology, University of Waikato 1981
- (20) -This illustration is a directly photographed copy of an original gifted to the Whakatane Museum as part of a collection of Lloyd cartoons. The then Curator, Mr. A. Van der Wouden stated that it was his belief that the cartoon was one of a particular series published in the Auckland Weekly News during the First World War. Due to the length of that conflict and the constraints of time and the fact that the bulk of such archival material is held in Auckland, I was not able to locate the particular issue which this cartoon appeared in. It is likely that the cartoon also formed part of a series of postcards as similar illustrations have been encountered by this writer in that medium.
- (21) Auckland Weekly News, Editorial, "Asiatic Labour", 19 January 1903
- (22) Ibid
- (23) Ibid
- (24) Although a number of Maori newspapers appeared, very few were actually Maori owned. All independents were short-lived except for Te Wananga which operated in the Napier district from 1872 to 1876. Most were forced to close due either to lack of capital or by pressure from the government.

AN EXPRESSION OF ONE ASPECT OF
THE MEDIA STRATEGY FOR THE USE OF SOCIO-POLITICAL
CARTOON SATIRE ENCAPSULATED:

People do not perceive racial differences. They perceive phenotypical differences of colour, hair form, underlying bone structure and, so on. Phenotypical differences are a first-order abstraction. It is these differences which are used as role signs and they can be the bases for structures of inequality...

Michael Banton
Race and Ethnic Competition

Chapter Five

Wilson and Horton's Cartoonist Par Excellence: Trevor Lloyd

In examining a press which contained "a bias as much in evidence in the news columns...as their editorials" (1) and "a vested interest interlocked with all other vested interests" (2), historical examinations of the press in New Zealand generally have not overlooked its:

power of suggestion...its ability to influence opinion and promote lines of thought (3).

There was still, however, a *more subtle* means by which the printed media influenced and directed public opinion: humour. It is *that* influence which, historically speaking, has largely been overlooked. Humour used in place of, and in conjunction with, the more "serious" written business of the day.

The visual imagery of socio-political cartoon satire, in combination with varying connotations, significations and written texts, was used by media controllers to influence public opinion. This was achieved by *linking* the *pictorial* satire to issues being argued via the written word. Cartoons came to be the "crystallisation of public opinion"; the picture that was worth a thousand words. These "crystallisations" were shaped into the metaphorical "gems" which most media controllers claimed it was their duty to form from the "diamond in the rough" of unformed public opinion on major issues.



To aid the opinion forming process, socio-political cartoons came to be used as visual similes. The figure page #20 "Nigger Island" cartoon was such a visual simile. Just as Robert Burns wrote: "My love is like a red, red rose", the expression in the "Nigger Island" cartoon suggests that: "The Polynesian is like a black, black nigger".

The circa 1910 advertising cartoon by Trevor Lloyd shown as figure page #21 follows in that vein of negativity. However, the cartoon nevertheless recognises the Maori as a potential consumer. Despite the obvious racial connotations, it depicts a Maori consumer who knows quality when he sees and tastes it. These elements support the argument that, while the notion of White superiority was being advanced, the "ideal" Pakeha New Zealand was still little more than a society which was an exemplar of modern capitalist expansion.

For all that the Maori extols the virtues of the fruit sold by E.F. Turner and Sons, artist Trevor Lloyd does not fail to deliver the stereotypical imagery expected by the public in either the cartoon or the caption. Lloyd contrasts the Maori man's big white teeth and the whites of his eyes with his dark skin. Decidedly, it appears that Lloyd was very much influenced in this work by American "coon humour". This style of humour focused upon similar images of Black Americans chomping their way through giant wedges of watermelon. As well, the stylistic

language of Lloyd's caption rivals its American counterpart. An example of the stereotypical language used in "coon humour" would be:

"Where de watermelon?

'dere ain' no watermelon...

'Where de rin'?'

'dere ain' no rin'! We done ate it!"

Lloyd's caption reads:

"Kapai Turner and sons he te feller for te fruit."

Working for New Zealand's largest media company placed Lloyd in the position where he was exposed to many overseas influences as they became available. Coon humour was certainly one of these influences. However, labelling works such as Lloyd's as *actual* "coon humour" should be avoided. New Zealand cartoon satire dealing with ethnicity is a unique social phenomenon and should be treated as such. It was influenced by some forces which emanated from outside of these shores; but the problem generally remains a Maori/Pakeha one. It therefore can only ultimately be resolved within that context. Lloyd is a good example of that argument for it appears that he had a unique talent.

As a first generation, New Zealand-born Pakeha, only Lloyd appears to have been able to encapsulate the essence of what media controllers wanted to have said about the Maori and Maori resistance to the impositions and demands which the Pakeha system

made upon them. While these expressions were generally in the negative sense, Lloyd personally displayed a positive understanding of Maori as well. These points will be discussed further on.

The first recorded mention of Lloyd as an artist appears to have been made in the New Zealand Graphic in 1898. In a column, "New Zealanders Abroad", it was stated that:

A Whangarei artist, Mr. Trevor Lloyd, has been attracting some attention in Auckland by his pictures. The best of them, representing bush scenery...were much admired...for their truthfulness to nature. (4)

Lloyd had only a few formal art lessons from noted artist L.J. Steele, but it was not because he could not have afforded them. He was born on 21 December 1865 at Wainui, near Silverdale, Auckland Province. He was the son of Mr. Henry Lloyd who was himself the son of Colonel John Lloyd, the Deputy Lieutenant of King's County Ireland. The Lloyd family was of Welsh stock and they became landed gentry in Ireland in return for service in Ireland under Cromwell in 1649. When he emigrated to New Zealand Henry Lloyd carried with him a letter of introduction which, among other things, stated that Henry had left Ireland:

with the most favourable prospects so far as capital is concerned [with] which he intends to embark in any speculation most likely to be remunerative. (5)

It is therefore no surprise that Henry Lloyd was directed to

invest heavily in land. He bought a parcel of land in Hobson street Auckland, some acreage on the Hauraki plains and Brown's Bay, and a one square mile estate near Silverdale which was known then as The Wade (6).

Henry Lloyd's education at Cambridge in the classics, philosophy and the arts helped him little however in his speculative forays into gold mining, timber and tobacco growing. Nevertheless, Henry's interest and abilities in art saw him as an active member of the Exhibited Society of Artists. He produced many pen and ink drawings as well as watercolours of the bush. This investment of time in pursuit of his artistic talent paid dividends in his son Trevor more than any of Henry's other speculations. Indeed, it appears that there was a natural ability inherent in this family for capturing the essence of their chosen subjects. Another of Henry's sons, Herbert, became first an artist, then a professional photographer. He opened a studio in Melbourne. Trevor Lloyd's daughters Constance and Olive were artists and photographers as well, both making their living from those professions to some degree (7). On top of this, Henry Lloyd had other vested interests, both political and otherwise. He was Kaipara Representative for the Auckland Provincial Council from 1873 to 1875, Chairman of the Wade Highway Board, a member of the Waitemata County Council, a Justice of the Peace and the County Coroner. These more than likely had some great effect upon Trevor Lloyd's formative socialisation as well as his political and

class consciousness.

Trevor Lloyd's initial interest in capturing the true beauty of the New Zealand bush and mastering the lights and shades which made it come alive was interrupted when he joined the staff of the Auckland Weekly News in 1903. It was not to be until Lloyd was well into the autumn of his years, when the demands of the media upon his time waned, that he would resume producing the sort of bush scenes which mark him as a truly essential New Zealand artist of that genre. One explanation for Lloyd's eventual return to producing bush scenes is that such work produced no agenda; had no demands to make. When not under the destructive influence and demands of the media, Lloyd appears to have been touched by the wairua of the New Zealand bush in a similar manner to that experienced by the tangata whenua.

In 1928, Sir Maui Pomare wrote the prefatory note to a book of verse entitled Songs From the Forests of Tane which Lloyd illustrated. In this note, Sir Maui stated that Lloyd:

captured pictorially what the author [T.C. Chamberlain] conveys in his verse...sincere friendship with my people...and the spirit of the Maori who founded what to them was Aotearoa" (8).

The question needs to be asked then, during the intervening years between 1903 and the late 1920's, what forces acted to pervert

Lloyd's work? Much speculation could be made about this. However, it appears that Lloyd's own social and political conditioning as well as his exploitable talent as an image visualiser were only contributing factors. They were ingredients; but they were not, metaphorically speaking, the entire cake. This is what I will attempt to do: break down the recipe and examine the ingredients.

Before he was employed by Wilson and Horton, the media controllers there were certainly aware of Lloyd's work - and his potential. His work had been appearing sporadically in the New Zealand Magazine and the Graphic from about 1898. However, this work was not controversial (9). Whilst Lloyd's works in publications during the period 1898 to 1902 were unsigned, there is some evidence that, before he was formally appointed to staff (10) of the Auckland Weekly News in 1903, he produced work for that publication under the heading of "special Artist" (11) during 1902 which was controversial. A problem with identifying this early period work is that it appears that the Weekly may also have used E.F.Hiscocks as a "special artist" during this time. Hiscock's work could be very similar to Lloyd's in appearance. However, Hiscock, who normally signed his work with his full name or just with "His.", was already a well established artist. He had paid his dues; he had earned the reputation which gave him the right to sign all of his work. Lloyd had not.

As an unsigned work and from comparison with other early Lloyd



CHRISTMAS EXCURSIONISTS AND SOME OF THEIR PASTIMES AS SEEN BY OUR SPECIAL ARTIST.

Plate #1



THE HAWAIIAN HAWAIIAN AT KAWAIA FOR THE BENEFIT OF THE WEEKLY NEWS READERS.

Plate #2

works, it is most likely that the satirical cartoon depicted in plate #1 on figure page #22 is the work of Trevor Lloyd. Indeed, it appears that this cartoon is Lloyd's first work of its kind for Wilson and Horton which involved the Maori. It appeared in the Weekly on 2 January 1902. The cartoon is a mixed collage but it contains three Maori elements in the upper half. The image is begun with a Maori man's first trip to the big city. He is carrying a bag tagged "From the North" (where Lloyd's own family owned land). This Maori's rather prosperous appearance is remarkable when compared to other more commonplace images which were presented of the Maori: that of bedraggled natives in front of tumbledown shacks or performing clownish "penny haka". The "From the North" tag actually alludes to the rich lands which the media constantly complained was lying idle - lands that the Maori and the current Government were "keeping" from White settlement and development.

In the second Maori element of the cartoon, there is the well dressed Maori in the suit. He, the caption reads, would "look just as ridiculous in the country". In the third, there are a male and female Maori dressed in the finery of a Pakeha lady and gentleman. That caption reads "alle same Pakeha". Taken by itself, the entire cartoon is a collage of "humorous" slices of life in 1902. Indeed, there are enough existing photographs of Maori people in the dress of upper class Pakeha to support an argument that such Maori could have *potentially* been included in

humour which had a "racially neutral" balance. However, the caption in the cartoon implies that the Maori subjects were considered somewhat less by Pakeha than what they are trying to be; which was not just White, but British as well. The Maori images, however, are clearly set apart. They are separate from the images of Pakeha making "fools" of themselves rather than together with them. It is an accurate depiction of the social divisions as they truly were.

The overall impression is one which rather negates the idea that media controllers at Wilson and Horton supported any assimilationist policies. If that is the case, the notion of "partnership" as suggested in the Treaty of Waitangi would hardly have received a warm reception from men who

had always been [collaborators] with the voracious in the narrowing of information and ideas for [two basic reasons]...profit and power of an explicit kind.(12)

Such is the manner in which Pilger describes the modern counterparts of such men in his recent book on media controllers and their agenda. Pilger sees a connection between early capitalists such as colonial media controllers in that the growth of these competitive individuals has expanded from a localised phenomenon to one that is now global.

The idea of partnership, however, was not unheard of or unspoken of at that time - especially in the Maori press. In Te Manukura,

founded by a Scotsman Alexander Francis McDonnell in 1917 and apparently Maori controlled from 1922, the paper's reason for existence was "to support the just claims of the Maori people" (13).

One role which Wilson and Horton's Weekly served then was to reinforce negative stereotypical images of the Maori as buffoons. The responsibility for the dissemination of such material cannot be placed at the door of Trevor Lloyd. He was an artist - not the editor or the publisher. The earlier reference made to editors in chapter three is, perhaps, salient. Whilst Lloyd began his work for the Weekly 1903, his production of more intensely racist material coincides with the editorship of R.M. Hackett from 1905. Hackett, it will be remembered, was the author of the 29 October 1921 Editorial which called for the total alienation of Maori land "without delay or timidity". The general publication of such powerful and regularly published imagery could only have had the effect of ensuring that most of the reading public would not take any Maori who dressed in quality Pakeha clothes seriously - especially to transact business. It is from this presumption that the Weekly encouraged such negative humour and labels such as "alle same Pakeha".

Briefly, in the next few pages, it will be shown how photographic images were **linked** to cartoon imagery. This is to say that inspiration was drawn from these snippets of real life in New

zealand and then reconstructed by artists like Lloyd as caricatures to suit the needs of the daily or weekly publications. Plate #2 of figure page #22, is entitled "An impromptu haka at Kawhia for the benefit of the Weekly News readers" (14). It is a commonplace image of this period, depicting the so-called "penny haka". Such images permeated the nationally distributed Weekly. Photographic competitions were held regularly to determine who could produce the most "comic" results. Such images have **links** with cartoon satire which will be clearly demonstrated further on in this chapter.

While such competitions included the general public, most of what appeared as images in the Weekly was material produced by photographers who were making their living churning out the kind of culturally concocted picture one finds on postcards of that period. This material, as will be shown, is also **linked** with cartoon satire. Maori were most commonly the butt of jokes in the so-called "humour" categories" of photography published in the Weekly.

I chose the image on figure page #22 because its most insidious element is the youngest child who is standing in the foreground. She is not looking to the camera, she is looking to her elder playmates for her example. The child is imbibing negative learned behaviour from those older children who were urged, out of ignorance or need, to denigrate the true haka for a penny a pose.

In every other aspect of life as well, the Maori was the butt of "humour" in the Weekly. Whether it was a Maori trying to fit into pakeha society, as is the case in the Lloyd cartoon, or the subject was a Maori engaged in a Maori activity, the media controllers had an agenda which was generally aimed at "crystallising" a negative public opinion of the Maori. Neither did the Maori have any effective control within the social, political or economic infrastructures to counter this process.

Lloyd's arrival at the Auckland Weekly News coincided with the stepped-up Wilson and Horton campaign to communicate their message via the United Press Association and in their own publications. This campaign could be said to be due in part to their realisation that socio-political cartoon satire was an effective form of communicating their ideology to a receptive public mind; a public that was still land-hungry. Despite the Weekly claiming in their 29 June 1905 Editorial that the Maori had not evolved sufficiently enough to manage things for themselves, in 1903, two years prior to that claim, they complained that:

The North is shut against the settler, the Maori very naturally and with his usual intelligence [is] keeping the pick of the country for himself. (15)

A natural response would be to question how these two divergent expressions are to be reconciled. The reconciliation can be found in that the divergence was part of the media agenda. It also

explains what the forces were which perverted Trevor Lloyd's socio-political cartoon work. Cartoon satire became the means by which a socially acceptable method was found to erase the public's perception of the Maori as the warrior: aloof, resentful and disenfranchised. In humour there was found an answer and a method. Trevor Lloyd was perceived by his superiors as the person most able to project the desired message through his socio-political cartoon satire because those superiors realised fully that "one of the best ways to kill a culture is to lampoon it" (16).

In the years following Lloyd's "apprenticeship" at the Weekly, it appears that Wilson and Horton media controllers decided to exploit Lloyd's talents to their fullest potential. In 1903, Lloyd was appointed to the Weekly's fulltime staff with the apparent right to sign all of his work from that time. The very first Lloyd cartoon of 1903 appeared on 12 March in the Saturday Supplement. As a spokesman for his superiors, Lloyd got right to the point and he produced a cartoon raking Premier R.J.Seddon over the coals for his position on the North Island lands. This cartoon appears on figure page #23.

From the socio-political cartoon perspective, this cartoon appears to be the first of its kind to deal with the phenomenon which was to become known as "taihoaism". The generally accepted English translation of taihoa is "by and by" (17), though some



LAND SETTLEMENT IN NEW ZEALAND THE PREMIER'S ATTITUDE WITH REGARD TO THE NORTH

have translated it simply as "wait". However, this does not adequately convey the meaning of "taihoa" as it came to be used in this historical context because, by this time, there was only about ten million acres of Maori land left. This is what makes the government policies, much of them forced by media campaigns, all the more remarkable: the Pakeha had already taken by other means most of the lands that the Maori had not wished to sell.

In 1897, after earlier opposing continued Crown rights of pre-emption over Maori lands, the main Maori tribal representatives asked that all land purchases be ended (18). The impetus for this was the Liberal Government's policy of land acquisition which was directed at getting more British settlers onto remaining Maori land and making it "productive" in the Pakeha sense of the word. At the time, this end was in the process of being achieved through a mixture of Crown land purchases and private transactions - though they were being restrained by a delaying tactic by the Maori which came to be referred to as "taihoa". The Maori Lands Administration Bill of 1900, was introduced by R.J. Seddon and reluctantly supported by Apirana Ngata, who thought it an unworkable compromise between Maori and Pakeha wishes. This bill, in combination with the Maori Councils Bill, was a response to the pressures placed on the Government by the Kotahitanga (unity) Parliaments which met throughout the 1890s, seeking Maori rights of self-government. Ostensibly, the bills were "an opportunity...afforded for testing the Maori people to administer

their own affairs" (19); especially over their land. The main task of the Land Councils was to lease (rather than sell) Maori land to settlers - recognising Maori anxieties. But in deference to the settler pressure the Land Councils wound up with a Pakeha majority. The legislation "soon failed due to the pressures of the European...who wanted land opened for settlement" (20) and the resistance of Maori who disliked the provision for a Pakeha majority. What Maori desired was total control of their lands. Some tribes refused to hand their land over to the Councils. Despite the hopes which the Maori had for more autonomy through the Maori Lands Administration Bill of 1900, they were still deemed incapable of managing their own affairs in anything more than "a simple way" (21). Wilson and Horton and the media generally played no small part in promoting land alienation. Hence, the Maori insistence upon "taihoa".

As far as media controllers at Wilson and Horton and quite a number of other papers were concerned (22), the Maori was "an idler...a procrastinator". Donald Will contends "that attitude was not usually stated explicitly" in the media (23). However, as has been shown, Wilson and Horton, the leading media publishers in New Zealand at the time, were very explicit about their negative attitude toward the Maori as an unproductive people who were holding back the progressive Pakeha from developing "idle" lands.

At first, it was the Maori Lands Administration Act and the Native Land Court which bore the brunt of media criticism over what the Herald described in words as the "locking up" of North Island lands by the overzealous application of leasing under the 1900 Act. In Lloyd's figure page #23 cartoon, published in the Weekly on 21 March 1903, Seddon is seen to be holding the key to what a sign describes as "Rich North Maori land now idle". At Seddon's feet are members of the Farmers' Union prostrate and begging for the release of these "idle" lands. Within these fenced lands is a whare with another sign declaring it "tapu". The huge padlock to which Seddon holds the perceived key is labelled "Maori Councils Act". Many Maori leaders had held high hopes of reasserting their rangatiratanga over their lands through the Maori Lands Administration Act. However, the strict definitions limiting their ability to exercise those traditional powers meant that, in reality, Maori had little power at all. The Maori Land Councils were a short-lived government attempt to meet Maori wishes to retain land - hence the settler pressure, exacerbated by the press, to get rid of the Act. That is what Lloyd's cartoon exemplifies. However, it is the Maori who were not given the freedom in the Act to manage their lands as they would have liked. Settlers disliked the Act even more because it seemed to them to exacerbate land shortages after a short time. The Lloyd cartoon on figure page #23 was aimed at accelerating the process which the Act had begun by influencing public opinion to bring even more pressure on the Government to force Maori to

alienate their lands.

At the same time, there was the inference here that the South Island's lands were fully opened to undisputed settlement but the lands in the North Island as a whole were not. This is clearly indicated by related articles in the Herald and Weekly referring to lands in the "North Island" as separate from the usual referral to "the North" - a term used by the press when speaking of Auckland province in both Herald and Weekly (24). However, at that time, the general public understood very little about the manner or nature of land alienation in the South. For the most part, land alienation there was almost virtually complete. The media agenda, using Lloyd's cartoon satire, was that such complete alienation should also become the case in the North Island. This is the main thrust of the cartoon on figure page #23.

It was not long before taihoaism came to be personified in the media by James Carroll, the Native Minister in Seddon's government. Carroll, nicknamed "Taihoa Timi" (25) because of the leading role he played in influencing other Maori to delay selling their land, became a leading advocate for Maori self-determination over their lands and resources. To the media controllers and the men of property, Carroll's "policy of delaying sales and encouraging leasing" (26) of land was the major impediment to the desired goal of the complete alienation



"TAIHOA."

THE POLICY OF THE GOVERNMENT WITH REGARD TO THE SETTLEMENT OF THE NATIVE LANDS IN THE NORTH ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND.

Seven and a-half million acres of Maori lands in the North Island are at present locked up. Most of these are eminently suited for close settlement, but the Government is doing little or nothing to open them up. The effect of this policy has been to impede the progress of the whole island and the Auckland district in particular. The land already settled is yielding largely to the revenue and wealth of the country, but further extensive progress depends entirely upon dealing in a comprehensive manner with this great question.

to their control and exploitation. Indeed, he was "taihoa" personified even before the media lent a visual expression of their interpretation of that label. Wilson and Horton's negative portrayal of Carroll's pivotal role in taihoaism flowed from Lloyd's pen like a one-two punch on 7 September and the following 28th of September of 1905. Figure page #24 shows the 7 September cartoon which depicts Carroll squatting across the North Island. The idleness of the land - the bitter harvest of taihoaism - is manifested as thistles grow up between the Native Minister's haunches. Carroll appears unconcerned that "seven and on-half million acres of Maori land in the North...are locked up". He merely lights up his pipe and breathes out "taihoa!" with the smoke. The caption continues, claiming that "the effect of this [taihoa] policy has been to impede progress...revenue and the wealth of the country". Perhaps the main significance of this figure is in the attack on the person of Carroll as well. It was probably hoped that public opinion would cause the Government to replace Carroll with a more pliable individual. It was as if the media hoped that if they cut off the head, the rest of the body would die.

Figure page #25 is the 28 September cartoon. Here Carroll attempts to quiet the loud, clear voice of public opinion which, by now, has to be drummed into the politicians' heads. However, Carroll, the Maori, is depicted as being deaf to this expression of Pakeha public opinion: "Hush! Taihoa!" he replies. Meanwhile



THE LOCKING UP OF THE NATIVE LANDS IN THE NORTH ISLAND OF NEW ZEALAND.

At a recent sitting of Parliament the Attorney-General said that a Bill regarding native lands had already been introduced in the House of Representatives, but owing to the lateness of the session and the onset of the Order Paper, there was little probability of the measure passing into law this session.

his supposed master, Seddon, lies in what is clearly the Maori bed which is embellished with stylised Maori carvings.

When examined from its inception, the media campaign against "taihoa" and the Maori insistence to retain what remained of their land, received its ultimate expression in the 29 October 1921 Herald Editorial which called for total land alienation "without delay or timidity". The taihoaism which was effectively employed by Carroll and then Apirana Ngata in an attempt to subvert this alienation process, became a central focus of socio-political cartoon satire during this period.

Ngata's joining with Carroll against uncontrolled land alienation without safeguards for Maori interests, and then, succeeding him years later as Native Minister, meant that the implementation of the capitalist agenda was further delayed by taihoaism (27). In reality, what galled the economic elite more than any one thing was Carroll's and Ngata's determination (28) to provide their people with the skills which they needed (29) to compete with the Pakeha. It was for this reason therefore that the media (30) chose to focus upon ways by which they could diminish or destroy Maori credibility to adapt when they so chose, to compete, or to simply be accepted as equals in a nation which was apparently founded upon a partnership principle. The media controllers did not simply use race to perpetuate the negative stereotype of the Maori as lazy, indolent, drunkards, of loose morals or as inept

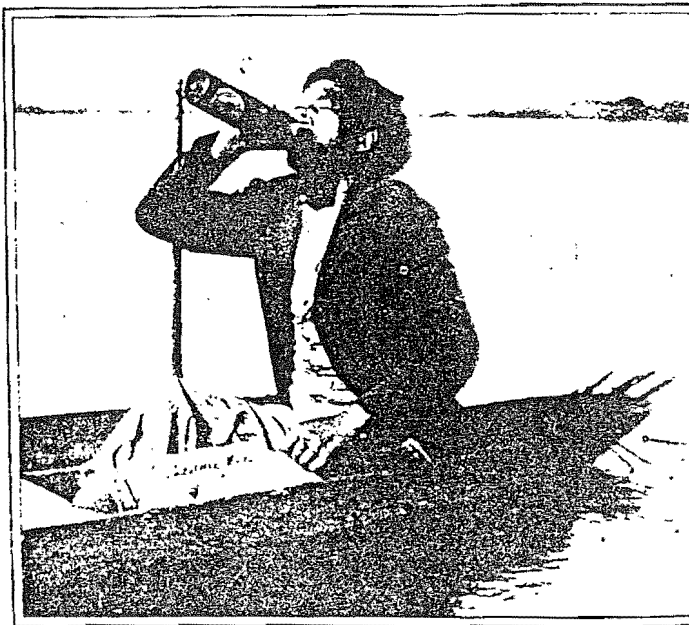


WATCHING FOR DUCK FROM COVER ON THE SHORES OF LAKE WAHIAU

Plate #1



ANTICIPATION



REALISATION

Plate #2

clowns. Combined with its written campaigns, race was an omnipresent issue which the media used with socio-political cartoon satire and contrived photographic images to aid the agenda of land and resource alienation. They made the public laugh at the Maori. The result was that the Pakeha public was conditioned not to take the Maori seriously in any of their undertakings because *they came to believe* that what was ostensibly being expressed as humour was, in fact, "reality". Mental "seeds" in the form of pictorial "humour" were planted in the public consciousness. From that point, people's own prejudices were allowed to complete the desired image which was given its initial form in the printed media.

A short chronology of linked cartoons follows. They are, on the surface, humorous cultural images. In this progression, I will show how photographic images were converted into socio-political cartoon satire by Trevor Lloyd. Then, how such images are ultimately converted into timely social statements on the leading issue which divided the Maori and the Pakeha: the land and its control. Only then was it disseminated by the media.

On figure page #26, which appeared in the Weekly on 11 May 1905, there is, in plate #1, the image of an English gentleman duckshooter dressed in a dinner suit and bowler hat. Even in a marshy swamp, he remains every inch a gentleman. In plate#2, there is a Maori man sitting in a shallow waka. The plate #2

snapshots are captioned "anticipation" and "realisation". They are, ostensibly, humorous images of a happy-go-lucky Maori who is enjoying himself. However, the Weekly's daily arm, the Herald, described the Maori in the 1890s as being addicted to alcohol. The Herald made certain that the public was informed that "thousands of Maori [are] drunkards" and that at a Land Court meeting "every [Maori] man had a bottle to his lips" (31). In 1905, however, this was all of a sudden a joke.

After the initial delivery of the above photographs to the public eye in March, 1905, in July of 1905, the Weekly delivered the follow-through on the drinking theme with Lloyd's cartoon collage. It is given as figure page # 27. In it, Lloyd applied the theme to Maori women as well as to men. Figure page #27, from the 20 July 1905 Weekly depicts another version of "all 'e same te Pakeha" in the male Maori depicted in the panel on the left. On the right, in a panel captioned "On the Waipa", there is a fat wahine drinking as she moves with the flow of the river while she is in charge of a child. Although the Maori subjects dominate the collage, they are pathetic figures compared to Europeans in the same work. The most important indicator of the depth this collage descends to actively denigrate Maori culture and, even, its leaders, is its caption: "a Visit to the Auckland Society of Arts Exhibition by our Comic Artist".

The Maori subject in the upper left panel is a depiction of none



COPYRIGHT.

From the painting by C. F. GILBERT.

A GOOD JOKE

("ALLEK SAME TE PAKENA")

Te Aho te Rangi Wharepu, a Chief of the
Ngati-Mahuta tribe, Waikato, New Zealand.

other than C.F. Goldie's painting of Te Aho Te Rangi Wharepu of Ngati Mahuta. Lloyd had added a drunken sneer and a bottle of rum to this elder's personage. Figure page #27-a is a postcard posted in 1909. It is a racialist "send-up" of that same Goldie painting exhibited at the exhibition covered by Lloyd. It contains similar negative racialistic connotations. Whether Lloyd's work influenced the postcard's circulation or not is less important than this: that the prevalence of such works, and the **linkages** that their existence demonstrates relative to the media agenda, was an attempt to discredit the Maori as a people able to manage their own affairs.

Another linking of images is presented which further evidences the impact which such carefully constructed and continually presented images had upon the public mind. Figure page #28 from the 9 March 1905 Weekly is captioned "A Wahine of the Arawas". From this image, Lloyd constructed another, which he instinctively knew that people would laugh at. It can be seen that the photograph originally had a cultural dimension which contained positive aspects which could be appreciated. It appears, however, that such positive aspects could not be left to simply speak for themselves. Inspired by the photograph, the song "Her Bright Smile Haunts Me Still", and the forces which encouraged him to produce such material, Trevor Lloyd drew a caricature of the Arawa woman which is shown on figure page #29. The image was mass produced as a postcard and the example shown,





POST CARD

THIS SPACE MAY BE USED
FOR COMMUNICATION

THE ADDRESS ONLY TO BE
WRITTEN HERE

2571/09

Industria - Series.

*A Specimen of the
Rotty Lumps of charcoal
one meets on the road
Yours to a Caudes
Red.*

Real Photograph - Fergusson Limited.

"My Bright Smile Haunts Me Still."

which was posted on 25 January 1909, illustrates clearly the end effect which the media agenda was having as regards the Pakeha public perception of the Maori. The sender wrote this message on the reverse, referring *specifically* to the Maori subject:

"A specimen of the rocky lumps of charcoal one meets on the road - Yours to a cinder - Ted"

The idea that Pakeha management of all Maori land should be delayed through the taihoa policy "into the middle or end of the [20th] century" (32) was a real possibility which Wilson and Horton put before the public and the "civilised farmer" (33). Indeed, it was a prospect which turned into reality. But the statement was not intentionally prophetic. During this same period a Weekly Editorial claimed that:

it would seem inevitable that [the Maori] must die out. The land to which they cling is not the natural element of [that] people. For a time he has tried...after the fashion of the civilised man...and has let it drop in favour of the old life of savage indifference (34).

It can be seen therefore that the men of property had no intention of waiting well into the century to gain control of the land and its resources. Such rhetoric appears to have been written in pursuit of this end. They changed tack when conditions demanded, but all the time, they contrived to generate the winds of public opinion in order to attain possession of the land all the quicker.

As stated earlier, Wilson and Horton's Herald and Weekly were two of a number of media publications which coordinated their efforts through the Associated Press toward a full alienation of Maori from their land. Media controllers *linked* and *coordinated* to fulfill this agenda. Patrick Day clearly identifies this agenda:

The notion of the Press providing a nonpartisan leadership in the interests of the community as a whole is ideological. It disguises the links newspapers had with the state and political groups and in particular with the class [truly] represented by the state and these political groups. Newspapers began as class journals. The development of political linkages was a continuation of this bias...in particular to promote "civilisation" in the new colony (35).

Supporting the notion of Pakeha efforts to "civilise" the Maori, despite these efforts being "thwarted" by the Maori, are the Figure page #30 postcards. Plate #1 shows a postcard dated 1908 and signed "Long". Plate #2 is a postcard by Trevor Lloyd and is circa 1910 to 1912. It appears that Long introduced an imagery which both appealed to Lloyd and influenced the card which he produced after Long. In Long's cartoon, the main target is taihoaism and Sir James Carroll. In Lloyd's, it is a fat Maori landlord. Each of them are riding a broken down white horse - symbolic of the weary Pakeha carrying the heavy burden of Maoridom. Long's and then Lloyd's image of the white horse also

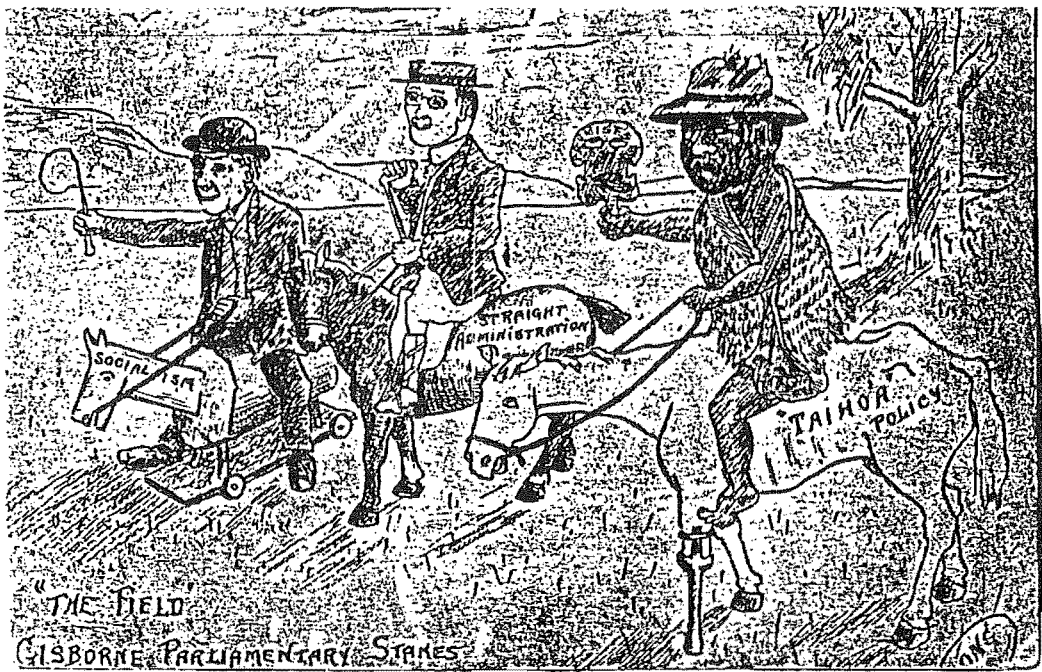


Plate #1



Plate #2

reinforces the general public perception as expressed earlier that the Maori's horses "have ring bones, side bones and all the blemishes of hard riding" (36). The hard riding was, of course, seen as having been upon the backs of the ever-patient and generous White man whose reserves of both virtues were just about exhausted by the persistent weight of "carrying" the Maori due to the taihoa policy.

Long's postcard was produced by the Gisborne Times, a Gisborne newspaper which Scholefield describes as having been "a Liberal organ" (37). The postcard bears that publication's imprint on its reverse. Lloyd's card almost certainly appeared in the Weekly or the Herald before it was photographed by Frank G. Radcliffe using a new process and subsequently distributed nationally as a postcard. The production of such cards is a salient point. It indicates that a demand was created for such cards by the media *initially*. The land issue was made a persistent one and many Pakeha passed such "humorous" cards along to their friends so as to be able to laugh at what they perceived to be *their* adversity which was being imposed upon them by the Maori.

The perceived burden which the taihoa policy imposed upon the Pakeha was probably best expressed by Lloyd in a cartoon which appeared in a special book published by Wilson and Horton during this period (38). This book contained a collection of socio-political cartoon satire solely by Lloyd who, by this time, was

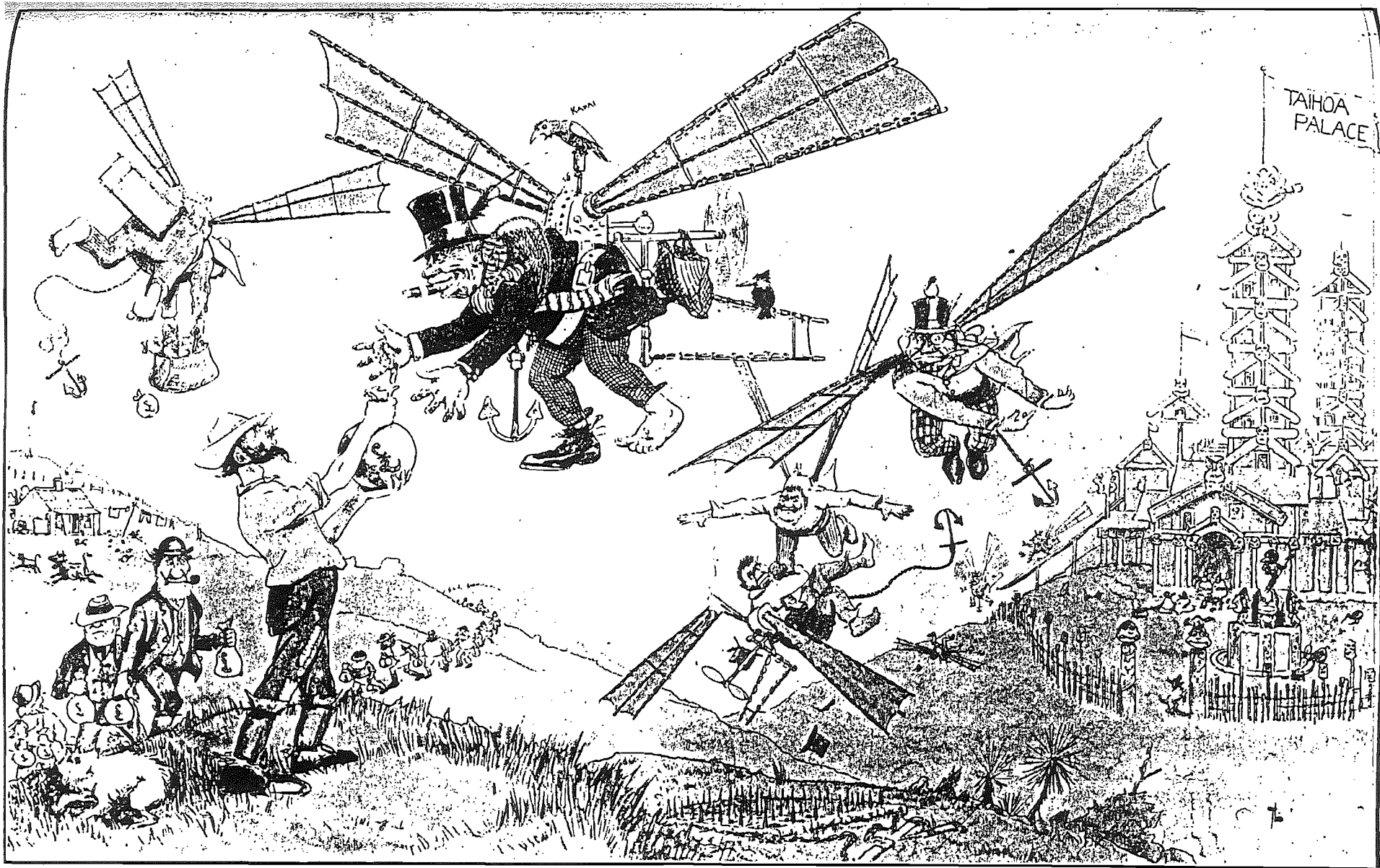
at the pinnacle of his cartooning career. The majority of the 33 cartoons are political and depict prominent figures of the period 1911-1919. However, a number also focus upon elections during which a main issue was land and taihoa - the most prominent case being the 1911 elections when the Reform Government, whom the Herald supported, replaced the Liberals. About twenty per cent of the cartoons however deal directly with Maori issues.

Lloyd's *personal* stance on the issues for which he drew cartoons for the media was carefully guarded by him. The closest that any family-held source material on Lloyd will reveal is one personal letter which he wrote to his daughter Constance on 30 April 1924. In it, Lloyd illustrated for his Melbourne-based daughter a cartoon which he drew for the Herald on that very day. The cartoon dealt with a strike action by railwaymen. Lloyd commented:

"This is the cartoon I drew for the Herald today. The Auckland strikers have not gone back yet. They had a bit of a demonstration in the street this morning. They counted the Herald Office out as they passed but we still survive."

As Lloyd included himself in the "we", it can, perhaps, be taken that Lloyd was a team player loyal to those who paid his wages. Little else is given away.

Whatever Lloyd's personal position was on his subjects, there is little doubt that his ability to communicate particular ideas via



THE FUTURE OF THE MAORI LANDLORD.

the cartoon medium was being fully exploited by media controllers. This is evidenced on the circa 1911 figure page #31 cartoon entitled "The Future of the Maori Landlord". The ideas which are communicated here are manifold. The first is that the Maori had grown fat and rich from their "unearned increment" (39) in the form of rents that they charged the Pakeha farmers who developed Maori land, paid dearly for the privilege, and were thus impoverished because of it. This assertion is clearly indicated by the farmers in patched and tattered clothing handing bags of money to fat Maori landlords who are smoking proportionately fat cigars and wearing top hats. These landlords lived in "Taihoa Palace"; a many tiered edifice which was obviously built on the proceeds from the sweat of the Pakeha brow clearing and developing "idle" Maori lands. In addition, there is the further racist implication that Maori landlordism was "one of the greatest evils" (40) which could befall a Pakeha. To be in such a situation flew in the face of the then general belief in White superiority which, evidence given here indicates, was more of a commonplace than is generally admitted in history.

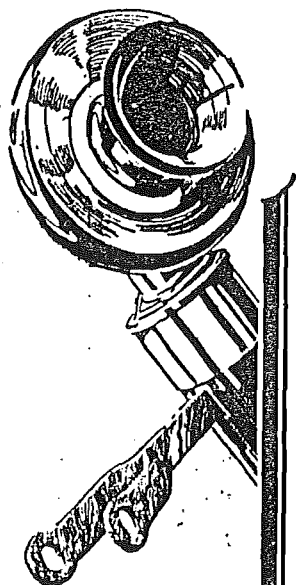
The media's encouragement of racialistic beliefs and White superiority by way of both direct and indirect imagery in cartoon satire aided and abetted the campaign by the colonial elite to totally alienate Maori lands and resources. Trevor Lloyd's ability to articulate these ideas in his cartoons made him arguably the most prominent cartoonist of this period because he

was perceived by the public to be taking a stand on their behalf.

In the key areas of politics, economic commentary, Maori/Pakeha relations and land issues, Trevor Lloyd's work played a key role in influencing public opinion with his cartoons. Exactly how much Lloyd's work influenced the public would involve major research work beyond the scope of a thesis. However, it certainly appears that there was a *perception* by the Pakeha public that each and every cartoon which Lloyd produced was a petition to the Government to get settlers out from "under the thumb of...Native landlordry"(41) and onto freehold land which, it was asserted, could only be had if it was alienated from Maori hands.

While such a perception can be seen to be valid, the point remains that Lloyd was not the instigator of these messages. Lloyd appears merely to have expressed the ideas which Wilson and Horton controllers wanted him to express. However, it was a convenience to the central figures that the spotlight was not upon them but, rather, upon Lloyd. The full collection of Lloyd's own personal letters to daughter Constance, his favourite, do not disclose that Lloyd had any inclinations towards personal advancement and profit. Neither were there any expressions of a racialistic nature. On the contrary, Lloyd used snatches of Maori language to open his letters, as terms of endearment in the body of his letters and in closing them (42). For that reason then, a shift in focus back toward Wilson and Horton appears justified.

THINK of THE MARKET ON YOUR PHONE

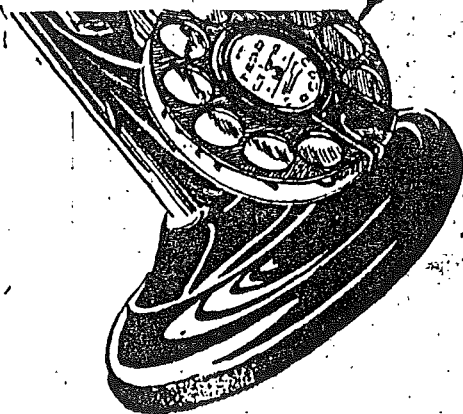


174,000 !
POTENTIAL
CUSTOMERS

Just a call on 46-944 and instantly the far-reaching services of the New Zealand Herald are available. On the basis of a 58,000 circulation, and an average of three people per family, the staggering total of 174,000 people receive the Herald. Whether your advertisement is an inch classified or a full page advertisement, think of the number who will see it, read it—and act!

**N.Z.
HERALD**

PHONE
46-944



The role which Lloyd the artist and the reading public played may be seen simply as component parts of an overall land and resource alienation strategy by the capitalist interests in New Zealand.

As figure page #32 indicates, during from 1900 to 1930, the Herald consolidated its position as this nation's largest circulating daily and continued to expand at an unprecedented rate (43) in Auckland Province. The Weekly did the same nationally. In 1921, the European population of Auckland city was 157,757 (44), almost tripling in the 25 years from 1896. No other urban centre matched Auckland's growth rate. In 1921, almost 35% of all city dwelling Europeans lived within Auckland and most of them read the Herald. As for the Weekly, whilst earlier circulation figures for this period could not be ascertained, there is ample evidence to support the contention that it circulated "from Cape Reinga to Stewart Island" (45). Circulation figures for the Weekly in 1931 were reported to be 191,300 by the Herald (46). Under the Weekly's front page logo, that publication solicited subscriptions from "any part of the colony" for 22 shillings 6 pence per annum. The Herald was down from 2d per copy to a penny from 1903 due to mainly the growing circulation figures which meant that the paper could demand more money from advertisers. But perhaps the most telling indication of the Weekly's truly national coverage is the following:

The persistence of backblocks conditions over a wide area enabled the Weekly to survive lustily into the second

decade of [this] century, although many of its kind closed down...The paper was transformed to meet changing conditions...the Weekly [was] unique - the sole survivor of a type of publication which for 70 years was a feature of New Zealand journalism (47).

Until 1921, the Weekly carried Lloyd's cartoon messages to every corner of New Zealand more regularly than did the Herald. From 1921 however, demographics demanded that Lloyd's talents be used more frequently in the Herald as well. From that point until his death, Lloyd produced work consistently for both Wilson and Horton publications. But, until 1921, it was the Weekly which provided the national foundation upon which ideological platforms could be built during this most formative period in the development of socio-political cartoon satire.

FOOTNOTES: Chapter five

- (1) Robert Blake, "The Southern Cross: A Hostage to the Capitalist Press", Landfall, Vol.4. #2, p.107
- (2) Ibid
- (3) Ibid, p.106
- (4) New Zealand Graphic, Article, "New Zealanders Abroad", 26 November 1898, p.697
- (5) Trevor Lloyd II, Family letter quoted in private manuscript pp. 27-28
- (6) Ibid, p.15
- (7) Ibid
- (8) T. Chamberlain Chamberlain, Songs from the Forests of Tane, Sir Maui Pomare's prefatory note from Parliament signed at Wellington on 3 September 1928, Fine Arts, Wellington 1928
- (9) I.F.Grant, The Unauthorized Version: A Cartoon History of New Zealand 1840-1987 p.80 :
Grant states that Lloyd: "illustrated stories and articles in the New Zealand Magazine and the Graphic and he contributed to the Graphic before joining the Auckland Weekly News in 1903". Lloyd, at this point in his career then, was not involved in active role in shaping public opinion.
- (10) Trevor Lloyd's first signed cartoon appeared in the Auckland Weekly News on 12 March 1903
- (11) I.F.Grant- The Unauthorized Version p.80:
Grant states here that Lloyd "was 'special artist' for the Herald at night time fires and indoor ceremonies still beyond the scope of the camera" from around 1903 onwards. However, as little is known about the unsigned works which appeared in the Weekly during this period, I undertook comparative work. For the reasons stated in the thesis, I believe that the evidence indicates that Lloyd was indeed the "special artist" as early as 1902 for the Weekly. No other historical evidence appears to exist which contradicts my conclusions.
- (12) John Pilger, Distant Voices, Vintage, London 1992, p.4
- (13) Te Manukura #1, 15 November 1916
- (14) Auckland Weekly News, Saturday Supplement, 9 January 1902

- (15) Auckland Weekly News, Editorial: "The Native Lands", 13 June 1903
- (16) Ranginui Walker in Kayleen Hazelhurst's Racial Conflict and Resolution in New Zealand: The Haka Party Incident and its Aftermath 1979-80 , Peace Research Centre, Canberra 1988, p.29
- (17) H.W.Williams, The Dictionary of the Maori Language p. 363
- (18) J.A. Williams, Maori Society and Politics 1891-1909, Ph.D Thesis, University of Wisconsin 1963, p.136
- (19) Ibid
- (20) Ibid
- (21) Donald Will, "Stereotypes of Maori Held by Europeans" p.43
- (22) Ibid
- (23) Ibid
- (24) Auckland Weekly News, Editorial, "Native Lands" 13 June 1903
- (25) G. V. Butterworth, Sir Apirana Ngata, Reed, Wellington, 1968 pp.12-13
- (26) Michael King, "Between Two Worlds" p.285 in The Oxford History of New Zealand
- (27) Graham Butterworth, Sir Apirana Ngata, p.13
 In 1912, the Reform Party became the government. William Herries was appointed the Native Minister. Herries recommended that Maori be treated "equally" as if they were Pakeha when they sold land. He maintained that safeguards suggested by Carroll and Ngata to avoid economic, cultural and social bankruptcy were unnecessary. In order to protect these Maori interests - interests which could be permanently damaged by Maori sellers making uninformed decisions when selling land - Ngata advised:

 "Appear to be facing where the Herries policy would wish you to, but slowly with many excursions...waiting, always till you feel the pressure relieved...all the time build up a group of leaders whose quiet advice and command will be to hold on to the land. Revive the tribal *esprit de corps*...give the new generation the consciousness of the life-long struggle with the Pakeha, but using his own weapons."
- (28) Ibid

- (29) Ibid :
King points out that at the proceedings of the Commission on Native Lands and Native Land Tenure in 1907, which came to be called the Stout-Ngata Commission after Chief Justice Robert Stout and Apirana Ngata, the following point was made:
- "The necessity of assisting the Maori to settle his own lands was never properly recognised...The spectacle is presented to us of a people starving in the midst of plenty. It is difficult for the European settler to acquire Maori land...it is more difficult for the individual Maori owner to acquire his own land...His energy is dissipated in the lands courts in a protracted struggle...to establish his right to it...And when he has succeeded he is handicapped by a lack of capital [and] by lack of training - he is under the ban as one of a spendthrift, easy-going, improvident people."
- (30) Donald Will, "Stereotypes of Maori Held by Europeans" pp.25-26:
"Since the point of editorial bias has been raised, all [of] the newspapers [studied] except the Auckland Star displayed various degrees of antipathy toward the...Government [over the problem of land]"
- (31) Ibid, p.46
- (32) Auckland Weekly News, Editorial: "The Native Lands", 18 June 1903
- (33) Ibid
- (34) Auckland Weekly News, Editorial: "The Maori and the Land" 29 June 1905 (see appendix)
- (35) Patrick Day, The Making of the Press in New Zealand 1840-1880, p.240
- (36) G.H. Scholefield, quoted in Felix Keesing The Changing Maori, p.86
- (37) G.H. Scholefield, Newspapers in New Zealand, p.154
- (38) New Zealand Political Cartoons, Published by Wilson and Horton, Auckland, 1919
- (39) Donald Will, "Stereotypes of the Maori Held by Europeans" p.51

- (40) Ibid
- (41) Ibid, p.52
- (42) Artist Trevor Lloyd's personal letters to his daughter Constance Lloyd covering the year 1924
- (43) Figure Page #32 gives the 1930 circulation figures of 58,000 in a pitch to attract advertisers. The advertisement claims the Herald reached 174,000 readers. Judging from this paper's rhetoric it is probable that relatively few Maori were inclined to read this paper regularly. The available information points to the readership being virtually one which was European. As the European population is given in the 1926 census as 192,233²⁰ and in the 1936 census as 210,393, it appears that a mean figure of approximately 200,000 persons lived in Auckland in 1930. The Herald claimed a readership of 87% of Auckland city therefore. If applied to the 1921 population of 157,757 then it could be implied that over 137,000 persons probably read the Herald as opposed to the 50,000 that the Herald actually says bought the paper at that time. of Auckland
- (44) New Zealand Census, 1921
- (45) P.Ridge, Those were the Days, p.10
- (46) New Zealand Herald 70th Anniversary 1863-1933 Special Edition, 17 November 1933
- (47) Ibid

Epilogue

The Legacy: Media, Maori, Minhinnick and the Post-1930 World

The editorials, articles and cartoons of the Pakeha press which have been discussed here are representations of what the general public came to consider to be "the facts". Many of these representations did not present the facts as historians have come to understand them today. Still, it is important to stress here that the public at the time considered that they were being given the facts (1).

A continuity of focus by the general media stressed the 'need' to alienate Maori land. This focus existed in the media throughout every year, every decade since the signing of the Treaty of Waitangi. There were two component parts to this alienation strategy. The first, is the agenda of alienation itself. Despite the media's potential to play a key role in promoting **consultation** with the Maori and to promote Treaty principles generally, as Te Manukura and other short-lived Maori newspapers attempted to do (2), the Pakeha media, and Wilson and Horton especially, induced the general public to accept as true the apparent necessity that Maori be alienated from their lands - ostensibly for their own "good". The second component was an intimate knowledge by key media controllers of the nature of key facets of "uncrystallised" public opinion: the already existing general public assumptions about White, British superiority as well as the general demand for more land.

It could be argued that various interpretations could be drawn from the visual messages which are present in cartoon satire. However, what can hardly be disputed is the core message: that Maori were incapable of self-determination. This focus was used time and again, both in written works and in visual imagery, to justify stripping the mana and power of the Maori over their lands. It was "war by other means..the means of controlling resources, commodities and labour" (3). Both before and after the Maori struggle for substantive sovereignty over their lands, the men of property preferred to use debt as a lever of power over the Maori. The impoverished Maori had no foundation upon which to build an economic base that would enable them to compete in a capitalist society.

Despite a major world Depression, the new decade of 1930 saw New Zealand pulled into an era of "speedy communication and highly developed mechanical aids" (4). The consolidation of power of the communists in Russia and China caused those nations to be described in the press as the "two enigmas" (5). This was due, in part, to the fears that capitalists held about communism's threat to their economic base. Nazism's rise was described as "nationalist sentiment in its most aggressive form" (6). Yet the Pakeha press did not consider that proceeding with the full alienation of Maori land was an equally virulent form of aggression. Instead, it put forth the view that such a Pakeha advance was a "modern enterprise and inventiveness" (7) which

held the promise of delivering New Zealand from the grips of economic depression.

In the name of "modern enterprise" then, the Herald campaigned hard for public support of the Land Laws Amendment Bill of 1930. That Bill was introduced "for the purpose of promoting the development of inferior lands" (8). The Herald argued in its 2 October 1930 editorial, entitled "Area and Development", that only the corporate effort of large capitalists could develop "waste" lands at the pace needed to generate prosperity. The editorial called the individual pioneer "as antiquated as the spinning wheel".

In this drive to free up the last remaining tracts of Maori lands en masse into capitalist hands, the Herald made no mention that Maori should be consulted. It has already been shown that Sir Apirana Ngata was on record as specifically singling out this principle as one which was sorely lacking on the part of the Pakeha. Ngata was by now Native Minister, and at last able to secure state funds for Maori land development, and embark on Maori-driven schemes. However, according to the media, the Maori were as "lazy" and "happy-go-lucky" as ever. The Herald drove this fact home in yet another Trevor Lloyd cartoon. This cartoon related to the 1930 Unemployment Act and its provisions on registration. The purpose of that act was to set up an unemployment fund which was to be financed from a levy on wage



SIDELIGHTS ON THE UNEMPLOYMENT ACT REGISTRATIONS.

and salary earners. Subsidised and relief work as well as sustenance payments were to be made from the fund to aid the unemployed. Maori males only had to register if they were employed on the same basis as a Pakeha. However, Ngata, as Native Minister, ruled that the average Maori male living in a pa was engaged in relatively unpaid work. This class of Maori was therefore, for the purposes of the Act, unemployed according to Ngata (9). Lloyd's cartoon (10), which is shown as figure page #33, is a collage. In its bottom right hand corner, a Maori is shown exclaiming "Ka Pai, no got to pay!". The Maori here is bigger than all the other characters- even the unemployed Pakeha swagman who would also have been exempt under the act. This cartoon thus dramatically reinforced into the third decade of the 20th century the notion that Maori were both lazy and did not pay their way in society generally. It was *they* who were holding back. The cartoon epitomised the idea that Maori would never do anything constructive- or profitable- with their land, at the very time when all Ngata's energies were directed at proving the contrary, by making his land development schemes successful.

Even as Trevor Lloyd's role as the staff cartoonist at the Herald was drawing to a close, the clichés kept coming, kept being reinforced. Figure page #34 shows another Lloyd cartoon collage entitled "Some Popular Songs Illustrated". The wide-eyed Maori Princess is presented as stereotypically fat. She is, further, labelled with the song "Drink to Me With Thine Eyes" - an

A DEVOTEE OF THE SUN

LADY ASHLEY

tells how she
guards her alabaster skin.

ATYPICAL Anglo-Saxon beauty—tall and slim, with hair like the yellow mimosa blossoms, gentian-blue eyes and alabaster skin. This is Sylvia, young wife of Lord Ashley, heir to the Earl of Shaftesbury.

Lady Ashley's favorite amusement is yachting. She loves sailing and boating, and swims like a water nymph. Because she delights in sea bathing, in basking under the hot sun of the Riviera . . . young Lady Ashley gives scrupulous attention to her lovely complexion—keeps it always dewy fresh.

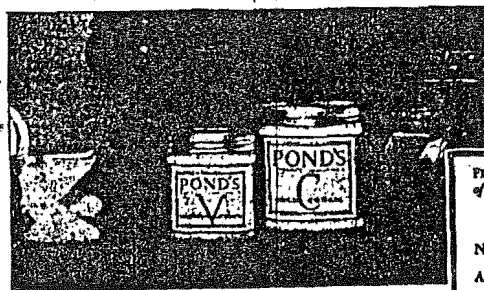
"My skin is very fair," she points out, "and as I am very fond of all sports, particularly swimming, I have to take especial care to guard it from exposure. I find that Pond's suits my skin so perfectly that I use nothing else. The Cold Cream soothes and cleanses. The Vanishing Cream gives a delicate, protective covering and holds powder beautifully."



LADY ASHLEY has travelled extensively in America . . . in Africa . . . and knows the Continent well. And wherever she goes she takes with her Pond's Two Creams . . . to guard the beauty of her rarely lovely alabaster skin, to keep her graceful hands always exquisitely smooth and soft. Lady Ashley's slender beauty . . . her soft, gleaming hair . . . and her appealing eyes of gentian blue are universally admired.



Lady Ashley is dressed by Chanel. She customarily wears black and white. This black chiffon velvet in which she posed for this portrait sets off her ravishing blonde beauty in perfection. These massive diamond bracelets which Lady Ashley frequently wears emphasize her slender, exquisite hands, and add a final touch of chic in the smart simplicity characteristic of all her gowns.



Lady Ashley says of Pond's Two Creams—"The Cold Cream cleanses so effectively. The Vanishing Cream protects my skin and holds powder wonderfully well."

This is the way Lady Ashley applies Pond's Two Creams. In your own boudoir you can follow her simple method and achieve a peach-blossom complexion.

TO SOFTEN AND CLEANS the skin, apply Pond's Cold Cream generously over face and neck several times a day and always after exposure. Wipe off with soft cloth or cleansing tissues. Apply Cream twice letting it stay on a few minutes; the pure oils sink into the pores, soothing and tender.

At night leave on a thin layer of Cream to keep the skin supple and restore the natural oils dried out by sun and wind.

Use Pond's Vanishing Cream to protect your skin against exposure . . . to give it the velvety finish that is a perfect powder base.

Follow the Pond's way faithfully and a peach-blossom skin is yours!



At Cape d'Antillon, Lady Ashley knows the joys and value of England for a place to sit on the Continent. In swimming beach pajamas and hand bags she welcomes King Ted.

FREE OFFER: Mail coupon today for free tubes of Pond's Two delightful Creams.

KEMPTHORNE, PROSSER & CO.
Dept. A-16, P.O. Box 809, Auckland.

Name

Address

allusion to the commonplace idea of the alcoholic Maori. A racial contrast is contained in the images depicted in the cartoon. That contrast is the slim European woman with the "N.Z." emblazoned on her hat. Her song is "Somewhere a Voice is Calling Me", which alludes to the dapper male on a phone calling from the other side of the globe. They are the picture of progress; the thoroughly modern Pakeha. If one considers the ideal European role model which the Herald offered women in Lady Ashley, shown on figure page #35, a parallel can be seen between this ideal and the one offered by Lloyd in the figure #34 cartoon. In the figure page #35 advertisement, Lady Ashley is described as "a typical Anglo-Saxon beauty - tall and slim". The message in Lloyd's cartoon is that the Maori woman too is typical. However she has no sophistication in the sense in which White society understood that term. These were components which went toward the construction of an overall image- a "reality" to place in the public's mind - that Maori persons could not be taken seriously in any sense. In Lloyd's obituary in the Herald on 13 September 1937, Lloyd and his satire were described as possessing a:

"sense of fun...genial and good-natured...so true was his understanding of native character...He was never known to offend the susceptibilities of a sensitive race ...His favourite method was apt and kindly satire"

However, removing oneself right away from a present-centred judgement, a careful examination of Lloyd's #33 and #34 cartoons will reveal that, even in their cartoon context, the Pakeha

characters are capable of being taken seriously. Lloyd's Maori subjects, on the other hand, were *calculated* to be laughed at; not to be taken seriously whichever way one chose to view the image. Such a calculation dangerously removed the conditioned Pakeha beholder from any understanding of Maori realities. The reality was that the position of the Maori in New Zealand by this time was a direct consequence of the loss of their lands and their means to compete economically.

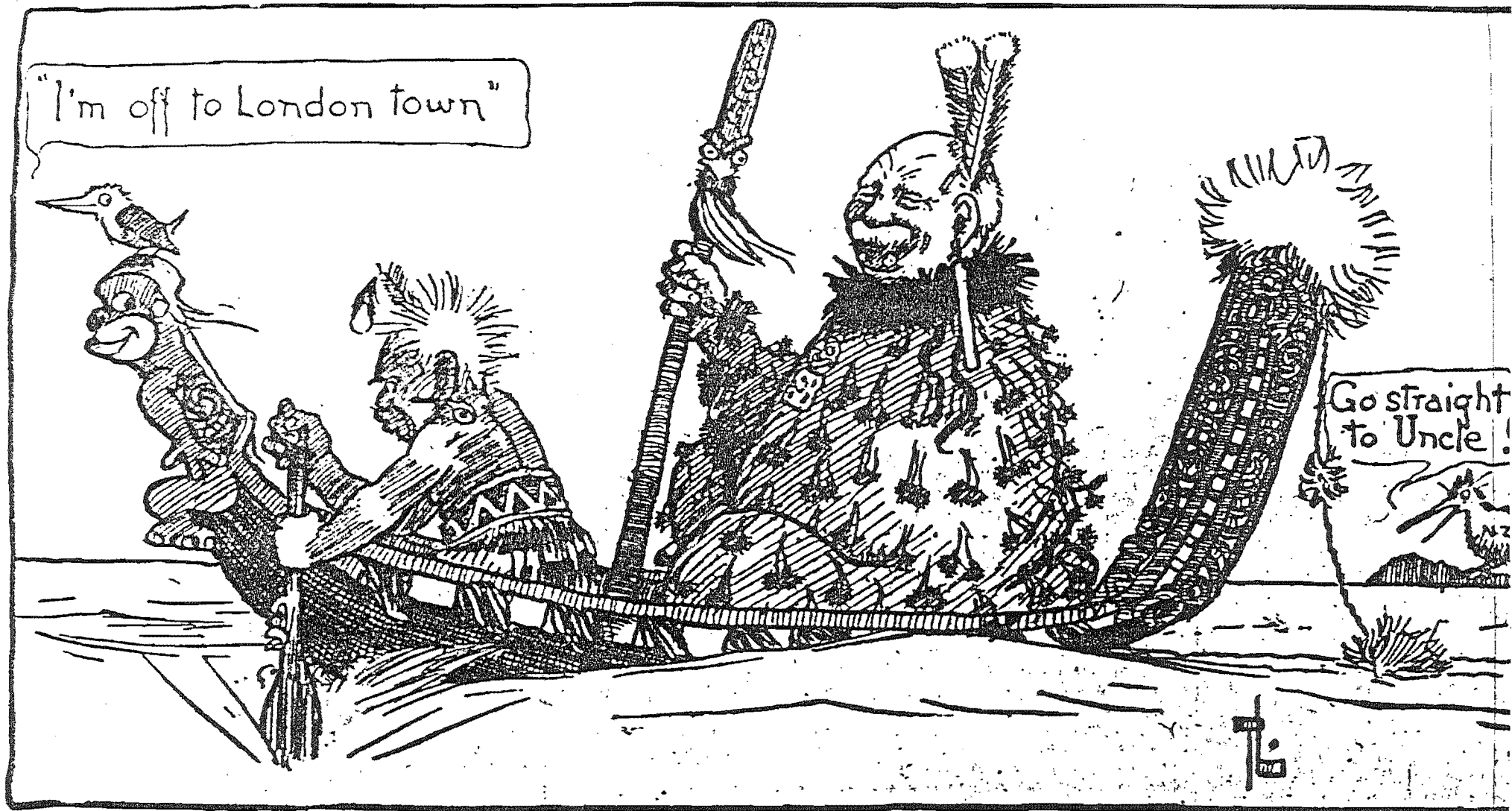
Lloyd's eventual successor at the Herald was Gordon Minhinnick. He was a man whose "view of life and politics was very much in step with the New Zealand Herald and the majority of New Zealanders" (11). Grant maintains that Minhinnick was influenced by David Low, who made his name with the Spectator, the New Zealand Truth and the Sketcher beginning in 1902 and also Phil May of the Bulletin (12). Grant further maintains that Lloyd's work was often "clumsy and uncontrolled" (13). Yet if one compares the figure page #36 Minhinnick Herald cartoon from 1949 with the Figure page #37 Lloyd Herald cartoon from 1921, Lloyd's influence is easy to see. Nor, in my view, are Grant's adjectives applicable to Lloyd's work.

Minhinnick drew his first cartoon for the Herald on 29 October 1930. As mentioned earlier, Lloyd had drawn cartoons as they were needed. This "need" was more than likely decided by the editor. From the 1920s, cartoons generally appeared on a weekly basis in



December 1st, 1949.

THE BLUE PETER



THE DEPARTURE OF THE GREAT CHIEF.

The Prime Minister of New Zealand, Right Hon. W. F. Massey, is leaving to-day for England, to take part in the Imperial Conference to be held at

both Wilson and Horton publications. It appears that, from this later period, the media strategy was for each of Lloyd's cartoons to encapsulate an event which had dominated that week's news or editorial commentary. After being exposed to that week's writings, it was hoped that readers would look at a cartoon and say something like: "that's it in a nutshell". However, it appears that this strategy required modification after 1930.

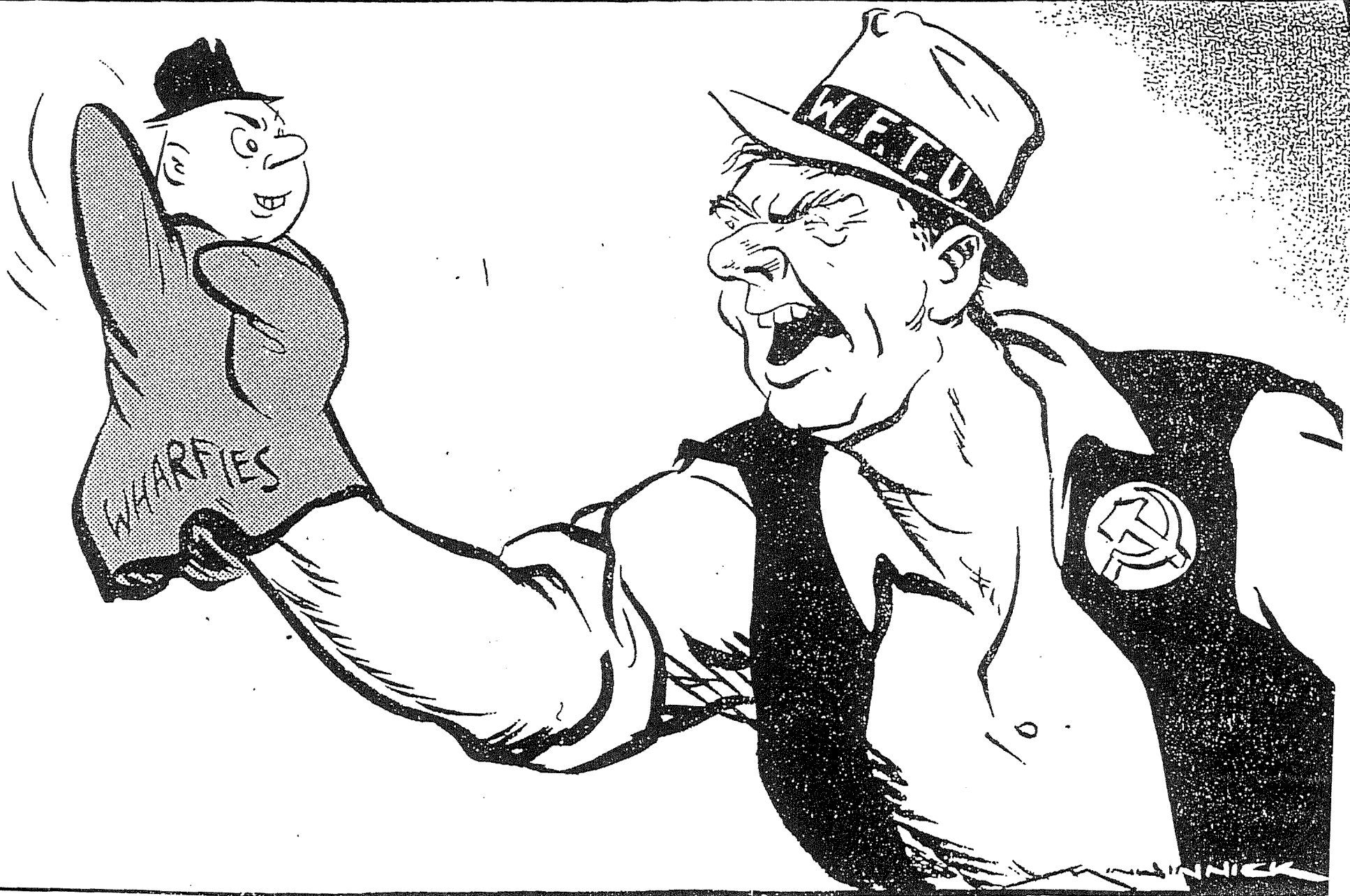
The age of what the Herald called "the days of...speedy communication" (14) demanded that a wider range of socio-political issues be discussed. It would appear that the decision was made that, because of this, more cartoons were called for. Lloyd was sixty five years old and slowing down. Although Lloyd began the task of mid-week cartooning alongside Minhinnick from 11 November 1930, Lloyd's health and other illustrating duties with the Auckland Weekly News meant that, within the space of a month, Minhinnick became the dominant cartoonist at the Herald. Lloyd continued the less pressing duties of working to a weekly deadline and was content to go back to the Weekly from 1931. However, a changing world was not the only reason that the Herald took Minhinnick on board. Minhinnick, it was perceived, possessed the ability to encapsulate in cartoon satire, humour targeting the newer threat to the agenda of the colonial elite - socialism and trade unions.

From Minhinnick's earliest days at the Herald, socialism and



REPUDIATION OF REPUDIATION.

All the "repudiation" ideas of the Australian Labour caucus have been condemned by the people of Australia, who have subscribed the full amount required to meet the £28,000,000 of maturing debts.



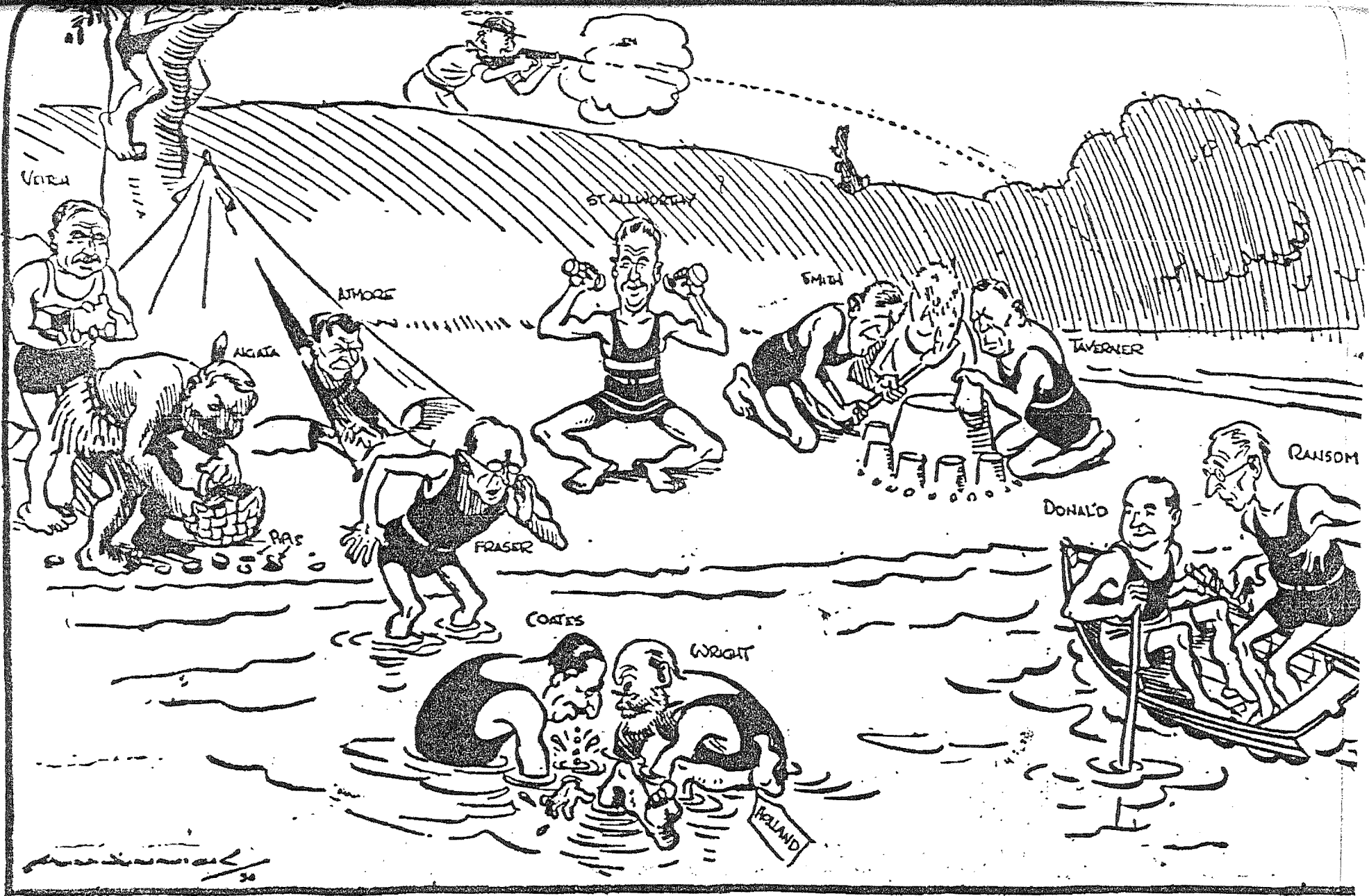
trade unionism were held up as the new enemies of society. Most Maori land had by now been alienated and, while it was considered the problem of Maori resistance remained, the long campaign was basically over aside from "mopping up". Maori land alienation was considered close enough to complete. It was not the total alienation which the Herald called for in October of 1921, but it was close enough for media controllers and the colonial elite, who saw socialism and trade unions as the new threat to the profitability of the land and resources acquired from Maori peoples. Gordon Minhinnick expressed these ideas concerning his chosen subjects as Lloyd did his. However, aside from the necessary comparisons, this thesis is concerned with how cartoon satire was utilised to influence and direct public opinion on the alienation of Maori land. Minhinnick's work is another comprehensive sphere of study in its own right. It should be sufficient to add however that the chronological series of extracts outlining the fuller media agenda in the appendix - including the press crusade against waterside strikers in 1913 and against communism generally from 1917 - emphasises that these are relevant, but secondary, factors until the land alienation issue was settled first. With the exception of a relatively few Maori-centred cartoons produced during the 1930s to 50s, Minhinnick's cartoon satire dealt with politicians generally and socialism and trade unions when targeting threats to society and progress specifically. The figure page #38 cartoon, produced during Minhinnick's second month at the Herald in December 1930,

is indicative of this. It is echoed by his Herald cartoon of 21 years later shown as figure page #39. Published on 27 February 1951, this cartoon embodies Minhinnick's comments on the Watersiders' strike which was taking place at that time. Minhinnick's work was prolific in this area. That was his genre - just as the Maori was Lloyd's.

Minhinnick's cartoons therefore were more wide-ranging and targeted socialistic influence as the capitalist media came to focus upon that perceived threat. However, as mentioned, a few of Minhinnick's cartoons did have a Maori element. As with Lloyd, Minhinnick's Maori cartoons are not free of negative stereotypes either. Figure page #40, entitled "A Seaside Holiday for Politicians", was run in the Herald on 24 November 1930. The Maori subject, Sir Apirana Ngata, can be described here as appearing to be neither the equal of his colleagues nor as being one of the group. Ngata is not depicted as being a team member. He is out of "uniform" and he is not engaged in a Pakeha pursuit. He is "stereotypically" gathering pipi into a woven flax kete. The pipi are indicated both by name and with arrows indicating their location. The meaning of this cartoon is not explicit. However, it is significant that the object of every other Minister's pursuit is not labelled in the way that Ngata's is. It appears that Minhinnick was drawing a special attention to Ngata which marks him as separate and not "playing" with his colleagues.

as are 5 others

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drawn
people



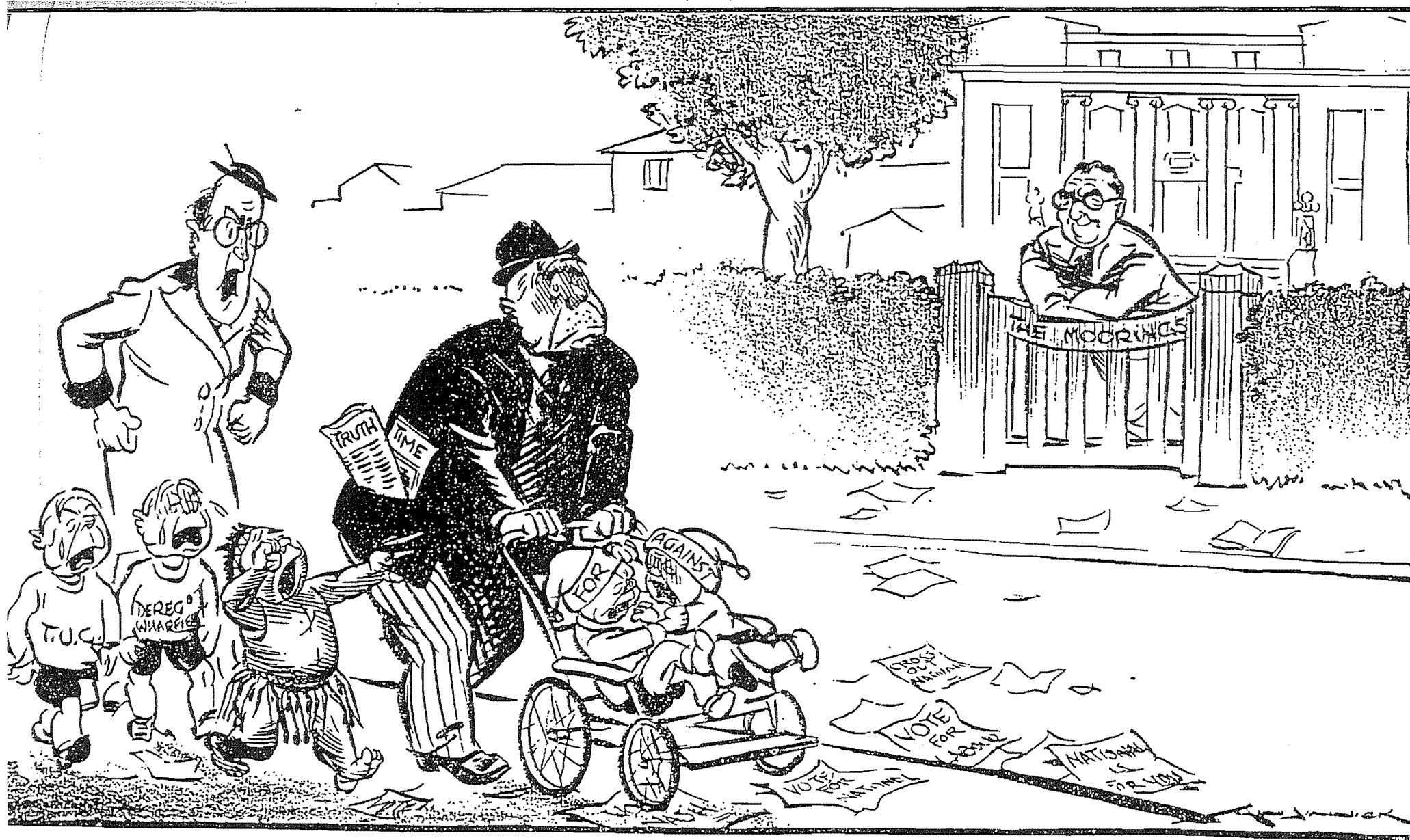
A SEASIDE HOLIDAY FOR POLITICIANS.

The British Council has proposed to arrange a camping holiday for city children at Motuihi, giving them the advantages of life in the open air.

In 1930, such a "native" attitude was perceived as an impediment to progress. During the deep economic depression of the 1930s, many would have perceived the cartoon's imagery to be an ultimate expression of typical Maori irresponsibility. Ngata had already made his position known on issues such as non-consultation, Maori self-determination and Maori land development. It was for these reasons especially that Ngata was not popular with the core elite. Satire such as Minhinnick's epitomised that displeasure, encapsulated it and presented it to a pre-conditioned public through the elite's mouthpiece - the media.

Gordon Minhinnick's gradual replacement of Trevor Lloyd as the staff cartoonist at New Zealand's largest media organisation is consistent with the issues which were expressed in the media as affecting the structure of New Zealand society as a whole. The Herald was at pains to describe anything in socialist newspapers in Britain and the Empire as "insidious intrigue...directed from Moscow" (15). At the same time, it called mainstream capitalist reporting "authoritative news" (16).

From 1930, much of Minhinnick's cartoon satire drew public attention away from the generally alienated Maori. Stripped of the majority of their lands and its wealth, the Maori were forced to follow the course which the natural forces of capitalism directed them in. This was increasingly toward cheap labour markets in urban centres and contract labour for landowners. The



eptember 3rd, 1951.

FATHER'S DAY, 1951

Maori was simply relegated to being one "whinger" among the two other social problems according to Wilson and Horton generally: socialism and the trade unions. This is made clearly abundant on figure page #41 - Minhinnick's 1951 cartoon which is contemporary with the watersiders' strike. When the full agenda as identified is considered, it is clear why the three "whingers" - Maori, trade unions and the socialist element generally are presented as they are by the Herald.

Public assets built upon alienated Maori land were also included in media campaigns. By 1930, the economic agenda of the men of property included campaigning for government-run public works such as the railways to be privatised. In that year, the Herald claimed that:

"the only sound policy is to liberate the railways from the paralysing influence of political control" (17).

The men of property did not succeed in privatising the railways until 1993. But even then, the Christchurch Press opinion echoed the Herald's, describing that ultimate sale in 1993 as "a vote of faith [by mainly foreign capitalists] in the healthy prospects of the New Zealand economy" (18). What the Herald's privatisation campaign reveals is a link between the alienation of Maori land and a proposed alienation of public assets into the hands of the men of property. As each capitalist aspiration was realised, it appears that the next stage of monopolising effective control of the economy was pursued. The 1930's appear to be a turning point

in New Zealand in that, having virtually stripped the Maori of their economic bases, the capitalists began to focus finally upon the predominantly Pakeha-owned public assets .

The fate which befell the Maori peoples of New Zealand, a fate that was aided, reinforced and validated by written and visual messages in the media here from 1840 to 1930, is largely ignored by the media today. Yet it is an historical legacy which the media helped to create. Despite this legacy, the media today:

publish stories of [racism] as if they represented a phenomenon [of the present] rather than an historical pattern (19).

Justification for this and what happened to the Maori still appears in the media. Historical precedents are, in numerous cases, still ignored. In the new order "the new propaganda differs from the old only in the technology of its conveyance" (20). The most frightening aspect of this supposedly respectable network of information systems is in its ability to make these terrible truths appear so deceptively harmless to society.

The concept of 'progress' held by the British of the 19th and 20th centuries, until the Second World War, literally allowed the consumption of whole peoples, lands and cultures. When the media perceived the face of reality was beginning to show through, reality was satirised; truth was satirised. In so doing, the conscience of society was eased. That this was so easily

accomplished is cause enough for concern, but the core of this truth is that society has unwittingly allowed to grow, in an ostensibly free society, a dangerous and powerful force. Within New Zealand, this force conspired to alienate Maori from their lands and resources. The growth of the collective society was next. In the past, while imperialism was a global phenomenon, the communications medium was not. Today, however, communications has gone global, and challenges the very group which it spoke for and, indeed, had its origins in. It appears that, as the economic elite has taken virtual control of most of what is worth being controlled, they now are more factional than at any other time in the past. This division has meant that:

the media corporation as a promoter of information to the ordinary consumer [is now] in direct competition to the established elites...media corporatists hardly need governments anymore (21).

The former allies who acted jointly to alienate Maori land in New Zealand and others of their ilk in other parts of the old Empire are now beginning to feed upon themselves; their "consensus" is eroded.

Greater public awareness of historical events and how events were shaped by Pakeha attitudes is needed. So too is an awareness of how such attitudes were manipulated by men of power and property. This is, perhaps, a starting point for neutralising a propaganda machine which was successfully used in New Zealand over a long

period to assist in the alienation of Maori from their lands and resources. The ultimate irony was that media controllers were able to use *laughter* - the laughter generated by socio-political cartoon satire to help accomplish this injustice.

FOONOTES: Epilogue

- (1) An adaptation of words used by Patricia Burns to explain ideological expression in the early colonial New Zealand press. Quoted in The Foundation of the New Zealand Press 1839-1850, Vol I, p.159. I use the idea to link what was accepted as true by the public when only the written form existed in the Press and then how the public came to apply that pre-conditioning when the visual forms of influence later appeared.
- (2) refer to chapter four #21 footnot regarding Maori responses to the Pakeha press
- (3) John Pilger, Distant Voices, Introduction, p.15
- (4) New Zealand Herald , editorial: "The World in 1930", 30 December 1930
- (5) Ibid
- (6) Ibid
- (7) Ibid
- (8) New Zealand Herald, Editorial, "The Development of Land", 16 October 1930
- (9) Michael King, "Between Two Worlds", pp.279-301 in The Oxford History of New Zealand, p.287
- (10) New Zealand Herald, Trevor Lloyd Cartoon, 1 November 1930
- (11) I.F.Grant, The Unauthorized Version: A Cartoon History of New Zealand 1840-1987, p.134
- (12) Ibid, p.110
- (13) Ibid
- (14) New Zealand Herald, Editorial: "The World in 1930", 30 December 1930
- (15) New Zealand Herald, article: "Communism in Britain", 29 September 1930
- (16) Ibid
- (17) New Zealand Herald , article: "Politics and Railways", 19 September 1930

- (18) Christchurch Press, Editorial: "A Good Buyer for New Zealand Railways", 23 July 1993
- (19) John Pilger, "The White Man's Tune", p.353 in Distant Voices
- (20) John Pilger, "The New Propaganda" p.154 in Distant Voices
- (21) John Pilger, Distant Voices, Introduction, p.7

APPENDIX

The main media agenda illustrated: Annotated excerpts from the
New Zealand Herald and the Auckland Weekly News 1900 to 1930

In the main, this Appendix provides a chronological list of excerpts from editorials and news articles. In the following chronological series, a clear pattern of issues emerges which, it is suggested, supports the main argument of this thesis. These include both "core" and "periphery" social, political and economic issues which, I am arguing, influenced and directed public *thinking* toward the ideology which the colonial elite saw as appropriate in their "ideal" society. This ideology had as a necessary component part the total alienation of Maori lands and resources away from their traditional owners. Initially, land and resources were the target. However, as events unfolded, one of the main peripheral connections became a necessity by the media to attack Communism, Socialism and Trade Unionism - much of which was compared to the "evils" of the unprofitable "unproductive" "communism" of the Maori. Other peripheral connections are "Niggerism" - the comparison of Pacific Islanders, Indians, Black South Africans and so on as "inferior" and the insinuations of undesirable similarities between those people and Maori. The general notion that all indigenous peoples did not possess the ability to manage their own affairs is another common thread in the fabric which made up the suit of British "superiority" as promoted by the press here as part of the overall agenda to

justify land alienation.

The chronological series of extracts is spread as follows: 1902; 1905; 1910; 1921 and 1930. The excerpts are taken from the Auckland Weekly News, which I will refer to as A.W.N., and the New Zealand Herald, which I will refer to as N.Z.H. .

N.Z.H. - 3 January 1901 - Article

"Last Year's Business"

"In the Various banks...somewhere about 20 million pounds is deposited...It is not an altogether good sign...to find such a mass of money for which its owners cannot find profitable employment...The withdrawal of capital from certain [industrial] directions has stimulated application to country settlement, but the return cannot be expected to be soon in evidence. However, it must be manifest to all parties upon what the colony's welfare and prosperity is based. The history of the past few years should stimulate government to make available for settlement all the waste lands which it can possibly bring into the market. The exports for the last year amounted to 13,477,966 pounds as against 10,932,302 pounds for 1899."

N.Z.H. - 4 January 1901 - Editorial

Heading: "On the Commonwealth"

(Seddon's toast to Australia at a State banquet on New Year's)

"Australia has before her an uninterrupted career of self-development. She has to face many difficult problems in that line. She will become a great Anglo-Saxon power, taking care that the continent is maintained as a "white man's country", and that the evils now found in the old lands do not take root.

"A.W.N. - 2 January 1902 - Letter to the Editor

Heading: "Excessive Cost of Administration
Retarding Progress"

"...several million acres of lands belonging to the Crown...are lying idle and unproductive"

A.W.N. - 2 January 1902 - Article

Heading: "New Zealand Extended: Land Settlement"

(in the Cook Islands and Rarotonga)

"In a few instances and only after considerable difficulty the natives have been induced to lease small blocks of waste land...An allotment of about forty acres [is] leased for forty years at an annual rental of ten shillings per acre. This is a very favourable bargain for the native, for it ensures him an annuity of 20 pounds per year; enough to keep him and his family in luxurious idleness while the industrious foreign planter undertakes to clear, fence and cultivate the...waste land and [then] return it in 40 years well stocked...and yielding about 200 pounds a year."

N.Z.H. - 20 March 1902 - Editorial

Heading: "Inspection of the North"

"Upon the seriousness of the locking up of the North through the existence of great areas of Native Lands the entire party was in agreement...Regarding the locked up lands, we have over and over again called public attention to this fundamental error in our colonial land policy."

A.W.N. - 3 April 1902 - Editorial

Heading: "Utilising Maori Lands"

"...the most serious of all our evils was the closing up of the native lands."

A.W.N. - 17 April 1902 - Article

Heading: "Settlement of Native lands"

"The Premier...mentioned the underlying and main cause of all the troubles with the Maoris was the land."

A.W.N. - 17 April 1902 - Editorial

Heading: "The Assets Realisation Board and the Waikato
lands"

"In view of the great demand for dairying and agricultural land in this province, it is astonishing that so little is being done...to throw open to settlement the very desirable property which [the Board] holds."

A.W.N. - 8 May 1902- Quoting the Kawhia Settler Journal

Heading: "Settlement Progress at Kawhia"

"We...urge upon the new settlers the necessity there is for them to join in the work of actively setting in motion all available political influence to bring about the settlement of Crown lands in their districts."

A.W.N. - 3 July 1902 - Article

Heading: "Native Land Troubles"

"There had always been trouble and never-ending trouble, and the outlook was as dark now and foreboding as ever it was in the early stages."

A.W.N. - 4 September 1902 - Editorial

Heading: "East Coast Native Lands"

"The East Coast Native Lands Trust Bill prevents the sale of...lands now held by the Bank of New Zealand as mortgagees and which, for the passing of this act would ere have been cut up and settled. Many have been the land problems of New Zealand...but we think this matter...is the most appalling of them all. Here we have these fertile blocks of land, standing pretty much as they did in 1878."

A.W.N. - 11 September 1902 - Editorial

Heading: "Settlement Thwarted"

"The paralysing influence which the present Government is

exerting upon the settlement of our New Zealand lands is shown by the very grave falling off in the acreage of lands [settled]."

A.W.N. - 9 October 1902 - Article (Via cable from New York)

Heading: "Negro Burning:

Reserved seats and special Trains"

"The recent burning alive of a Negro at Corinth, Mississippi for outraging and murdering a White woman is described as a horrible spectacle. Front row seats were reserved for newspaper reporters and women. The railways ran special trains to the scene where the negro was burned at the stake."

A.W.N. - 6 November 1902 - Editorial

Heading: "No Pressing Need for Immigrants?"

"Our representatives murmur "Hold! enough!" [But] we have more immense undeveloped land suitable for close settlement than has Australia - we have at least 20 million acres."

A.W.N. - 4 December 1902 - Editorial

Heading: "Agricultural Prospects"

"The Government boasts in its official publications that our little islands possess eleven times the area of sown grasses that Australia does. But it is dumb upon the way in

which progress is being stunted ...because of the persistent locking up of our Northern lands."

A.W.N. - 11 December 1902 - Editorial

Heading: "Settlement in Auckland"

"If the Government really wishes to develop the North, and to further the interest of the whole colony, it will redouble its efforts to open the land."

A.W.N. - 18 December 1902 - Editorial

Heading: "Open-to-Settlement"

"For the Government to attempt to throw dust in the eyes of the public on the land question is unworthy of a great national land policy."

A.W.N. - 25 December 1902 - Editorial Sub-Heading

Heading: "More Squandering in the South"

"We cannot get Crown and Native Lands thrown open. We cannot induce the Government to exert pressure upon Assets Boards for the purpose of opening the great Waikato Estate."

A.W.N. - 16 March 1905 - Letter to the Editor

Heading: "Native Lands"

"I believe that it matters but little to the Natives what becomes of their surplus land provided each individual or

family is given its own defined title secure against alienation in order that they may profit by the good example of their European brethren. The very salvation of a noble, yet rapidly failing race depends upon...great efforts to put an end to the evils of communism."

A.W.N. - 29 June 1905 - Editorial

Heading: "The Maori and the Land"

"The Maori today are by no means civilised in any true sense of the word...It may be questioned whether today the average Maori is any more really civilised than his fathers were a generation ago. In some respects...he has even gone back...The Truth would seem to be that as the processes of natural evolution are very slow, so those of any successful process of artificial evolution must be very active if they are to have any success."

N.Z.H. - 3 January 1910 - Article (Via cable from New York)

Heading: "The Maoris of Manhattan: Terrors at Football:
An Amusing Description"

"The only thing that can rouse in the Maori the old savage instinct to massacre is to mistake them for "coloured people". This seldom occurs now, though friendly strangers sometimes compromise on "Indians" or "Filipinos"."

N.Z.H. - 5 January 1910 - Letter to the Editor

(sent by Mr. James Boddie, a Farmer's Union Executive)

Heading: "The Taihoa policy in the North"

"Although the new Native Lands Bill may provide the machinery for a better state of things, so long as that machinery is put into place by the present Native Minister, the Taihoaism of the past will continue to block the way."

N.Z.H. - 5 January 1910 - Article

Heading: "The Maori in Politics: An Awakening in the
North"

"Pakeha Education...and constant communication with Pakeha neighbours has led to [Maori] obtaining a fairly good grasp of the present political situation"

N.Z.H. - 12 January 1910 - Letter to the Editor

Heading: "Wanted - A National Land Policy"

"Some people cry out for rating native lands on the same standing as Europeans. With our boom prices on land that would mean keeping back native land for settlement indefinitely as, in justice to the native, we should have to buy from him at boom prices, whereas if the government paid the rates [the Maori] could only claim prairie value plus his improvements."

N.Z.H. - 12 January 1910 - Letter to the Editor

Heading: "Native Lands in the North"

"The Maoris go to the ballot box every third year, and they uniformly vote for a true representative of their race - one who will support the Taihoa Government with the monotony of a gramophone. Thus the Maori at the "box" say, and say truly, that they prefer stagnation, serfdom, spoon-feeding and all the rest of it and have nobody to blame but themselves."

N.Z.H. - 19 January 1910 - Editorial Sub-Heading

Heading: "The Native Problem"

"Mr. Guinness, the Speaker of the House of Representatives...advocates that "all unoccupied and idle Native lands should be acquired without delay, cut up and offered to meet the land hunger of the country". This is on all fours with the policy of the Herald...At the present time, the whole matter is being hopelessly blocked by the Taihoa policy so dear to the hearts of Mr Carroll and Mr. Ngata."

N.Z.H. - 22 January 1910 - Editorial Sub-Heading

Heading: "The Tale of Population"

"New Zealanders emigrated in considerable numbers in 1909...the source of the evil [is that] land settlement was practically stopped during 1909...checked by the Taihoa policy."

N.Z.H. - 27 January 1910 - Editorial Sub-Heading

Heading: "Indian Press Laws"

"Steps to curb the misuse of liberty by the native press should be cordially supported by the public opinion of the Empire...It was folly to apply the same theories of liberty to Hindoos as to Englishmen for the simple reason that only those who evolve self-government can understand and use...the liberties essential to self-government."

N.Z.H. - 4 February 1910 - Editorial

Heading: "Imperial Migration"

"Colonial life has so developed that the many difficulties still to be encountered are but a shadow of the difficulties once so fearlessly faced. The Maori no longer fortifies his pas against the King's troops and comes down raiding upon the frontier settler."

N.Z.H. - 8 February 1910 - Editorial

Heading: "The Indian Press Bill"

"To those undemocratic myriads, whose only reverence is paid to force, whose thoughts are not our thoughts, whose ways are not our ways, whose ideals are not our ideals and whose gods are not our God, complaisant British theorist gave freedom of the press"

N.Z.H. - 6 January 1921 - Article

Heading: "Future of Schools"

The Honourable H.C.Parr Minister of Education: "The role of education should be a gradual and ordered development ...that will go to make up the sum-total of national character"

N.Z.H. - 11 January 1921 - Editorial

Heading: "Trade with Russia"

"Communism has killed industry".

N.Z.H. - 15 January 1921 - Saturday Supplement Feature

Heading: "On the Wanganui"

"The whole native village [comprises]...such a motley group- old tattooed and rug covered women...tall men with brown, clean cut faces, strength mixed with lazy indifference which seems to be the Maori's heritage."

N.Z.H. - 28 January 1921 - Article

Heading: "New Zealand Forests: American Investigator:

Dangers of Deforestation"

Ernest H. Wilson, Assistant Director of the Arnold Arboretum, Harvard University:

"The Kauri...and the onslaught of it in the reckless fashion that has obtained in this country is nothing short of deplorable"...Wilson remarked that the Anglo-Saxon appeared to be the most destructive of races so far as

forests are concerned. "If he wished to establish a a cabbage patch and a piece of forest occupied the spot...the forest went no matter how...serious the consequences of its disappearance."

N.Z.H.- 1 February 1921 - Article

Heading: "Fertile East Coast: Settlement Possibilities"

"In the matter of locked up native lands...men like Mr. Ngata and Sir James Carroll could render a great service to the country if they would co-operate with the Government in devising some schemes by which the great areas of fertile native country could be made available for settlement."

N.Z.H. - 1 February 1921 - Editorial Sub-Heading

Heading: "Farms or Forests"

"The Lands Department...should set enthusiasm for close settlement against zeal for forestry reform which is so apathetic and short-sighted [as] to be...encroaching upon the field of sound economical settlement policy"

N.Z.H. - 15 February 1921 - Editorial

Heading: "A Dependent Department"

"The business of the Native Affairs Department is not to placate the Maori vote but to deal with Native and European interests...to bring Native land under civilisation."

N.Z.H. - 11 March 1921 - Editorial

Heading: "The Imperial Conference"

"Japan is known to be pressing hard for the abolition of all racial distinctions which affect her nationals. it is therefore necessary that the Dominions should oppose any form of Alliance which concedes anything to Japanese interests in this respect".

N.Z.H. - 15 March 1921 - Editorial

Heading: "A Railway to Taupo"

Re: Royal Commission recommendation to construct a Government railway between Rotorua and Taupo:

"A railway would carry a tide of settlement into the broad, empty valleys of the Upper Waikato and the Waiotapu which belong largely to the state. Nor would settlement exhaust itself within these boundaries. It would roll onwards and outwards to the Urewerea, to Runanga, Taharua and into Hawke's Bay province and round the shores of Taupo. In this aloof, but not distant heart of the North Island lies 1/20th of all the habitable and cultivateable land of New Zealand...as full of potential wealth as it is empty of settlement."

N.Z.H. - 7 April 1921 - Editorial Sub-Heading

Heading: "Colour Line In Schools"

"The [Education] department has given the amazing ruling

that there is "no objection" to the engagement of a Hindu probationer...Whether the department realises it or not, the ideal of a White New Zealand is a very precious one to the parents of this Dominion and they have no intention of committing the education of their children to...any of the...coloured subjects of the King."

N.Z.H. - 18 June 1921 - Saturday Supplement feature

Heading: "A National Emblem"

"...in our new land...we have no traditions, no historical background...we still require a reminder all the time of our good British birth, of all it stands for, in truth and fearless justice"

N.Z.H. - 10 August 1921 - Editorial Sub-Heading

Heading: "Worthwhile Settlement"

"...in the Urewera...more land has been acquired than appeared probable, this proving that the Maori are amenable to firm and kindly handling."

N.Z.H. - 27 August 1921 - Saturday Supplement Article

Heading: "Newspaper Welcomes British Empire Press"

Viscount Northcliffe, British newspaper magnate describing the New Zealand standard of reporting:

"As accurate and true as the word of an Englishman"

N.Z.H. - 17 October 1921 - Editorial

Heading: "Auckland's Idle Lands"

"With prospects so favourable it is disappointing that during the past year little progress has been made in the settlement of the province...The economic future of New Zealand is wrapped up in land settlement."

Up to this point, the chronological list of excerpts illustrates the strategy of the economic elite's on-going agenda. This strategy was the stepped, progressive internalisation of the shared ideas necessary in Pakeha society to facilitate the transference of the lands and resources of the Maori to the dominant society's control with the minimum of social upheaval. The next two media items which follow outline the main agenda items of the colonial elite and their mouthpieces - the press . They are the *raison d'etre* for the protracted media campaign which was waged in order to alienate Maori lands and resources:

N.Z.H. - 29 October 1921 - Editorial

Heading: "A Native Land Problem"

"Since the dawn of European settlement in New Zealand, over 62 million acres of native land have passed to the White man. The Maori Estate has thus been diminished [further] since 1891:

				<u>Land Held by Maori</u>
1891..	10,829,486

1911.. .. 7,137,206

1921.. .. 4,639,573

It is apparent from these figures that the Native Estate can longer be regarded as inexhaustible. That is no reason that there should be any delay or timidity in settling what remains."

N.Z.H. - 2 October 1930 - Editorial

Heading: "Area and Development"

"It has been asserted again and again that to attack country and endeavour to tame it is no task for the lone handed pioneer, unless he is a man of exceptional quality or...capital...If private enterprise is willing to try...then [it] should be given the opportunity...The main thing should be to bring into production the land which is lying idle...**This business is now one for corporate effort** with a vast quantity of capital and a great force of co-ordinated labour."

This chronological list of excerpts is by no means exhaustive. Many more related news items exist and much socio-political cartoon satire attaches to many of them. These two excerpts **clarify** and **emphasise** that the issue of land and resource alienation was continually on the agenda of media controllers and the economic elite. By "alienation", I mean **total** as clearly stated in the Herald's 29 October 1921 Editorial.

In the chronological list, there are also included other news items which have connections as component parts of the land alienation strategy. That is to say that these news items affected the way in which the public came to think about particular issues such as the "colour line" as they are expressed on figure page #18 - the "black" and "white" penny hakas - in the main body of the thesis.

The New Zealand Herald sub-editorial of 7 April 1921 entitled "Colour Line in Schools" is ostensibly protesting about the appointment of a Hindu probationary teacher. There is not a direct Maori element here. Indeed, many saw the issues as separate. Nevertheless, the Herald refers specifically to "the ideal of a White New Zealand". This ideal is clearly in evidence regarding the Maori in the Herald editorial of 29 June 1905 which declared that the Maori were "by no means civilised" and which spoke of "natural evolution".

This attitude may perhaps also help to explain why such an article as "Negro Burning" was published on 9 October 1902 in the Auckland Weekly News . It may explain why, even though the act itself was described as "horrible", that front row seats were reserved for ladies. This story was likely reported in the New Zealand media via cable because the media controllers deemed such a story agreed with the notion of White superiority and its ideological connection with land and resource alienation of

indigenous races. Conversely, such a report is also indicative of the expressions of Maori anxiety about being mistaken for a Black American as was mentioned in the Herald Article of 3 January 1910 entitled "Maoris in Manhattan", excerpted here.

Another relevant component in the list of excerpts is the representation of "the evils of communism". This is initially mentioned in the Auckland Weekly News Letter to the Editor column on 16 March 1905. It is true that the term "communism" was used as a synonym for "communalism" when referring to Maori social organisation for some considerable period prior to the meaning applied to Marxist communism generally. However, it was the Maoris' communal organisation which was a main stumbling block to the complete land alienation - a goal which was so enthusiastically pursued in the New Zealand Herald - especially in their editorial of 29 October 1921.

Communism in any form is anathema to capitalism. The simple Maori "communism" was an influence which the economic elite did not want spreading to or influencing the Pakeha worker any more than it did the Marxist ideology. This is not precluding the fact that, by as early as 1905, class consciousness of the working class in New Zealand was beginning to grow and to be affected by overseas movements. This point is especially salient when one considers that this letter was published by Wilson and Horton at a time of greatly publicised social upheaval in Russia as

communism began to challenge the status quo there. By 1921, the New Zealand Herald was reporting in its editorial on 11 January how "communism has killed industry". This was meant in the context that it was not just a threat to profitability but that it was a threat to those who held the real reins of power- the economic elite. The article continued: "communism has been predatory from its birth; if force fails, then [it takes power] by cunning". Possession of any literature which championed the communist cause was, by law, declared seditious in New Zealand (1).

In the interim between 1905 and 1921, the Crown allowed the drafting of farmers as "special police" to break waterside strikes in Wellington and Auckland in 1913. This use of such brutal force to suppress socialist/communist activities has been aptly described as "Government policies directed by men of property" (2). What is noteworthy about this whole affair is that the Government used farmers - literally in their thousands - to suppress the worker (3). It was the farmer - the man who held lands which had been mostly alienated from the Maori and who was still hoping for more - who was used as the shock trooper of the economic elite. If this point is fully considered relevant to the main part of the thesis argument that the economic elite viewed farmer participation in developing the land as ultimately suiting corporate interests, then what occurred during the 1913 strikes as well its outcome is not tangential. They were, rather, an

intrinsic part of the overall agenda of land alienation.

An intrinsic component part which fixes these ostensibly peripheral facets to the main issue of the control of the land and resources is this: it is the basic question of who it is under such circumstances as the strikes or the cause of socialism that are deemed "worthy" to be allowed freedom of the press and therefore the ability to influence. The ability to influence was the key. As far as the issue of who was "deserving" of possessing freedom of the press went, it appears that the Herald editorial mentality paralleled Victorian era thinking regarding who were the "deserving" poor. I draw attention again to the chronology editorial of 8 February 1910 relating to Indian press laws:

"to those undemocratic myriads, whose only reverence is paid to force, whose thoughts are not our thoughts, whose ways are not our ways, whose ideals are not our ideals, whose gods not our God, complaisant [sic] British theorists gave freedom of the press"

If this statement's fullest implications are considered, it can be argued that it is only on the point of the Christian God - with a capital "G" - that most Pakeha of the period would have agreed that they might have something in common with the Maori. Many of the Maori's other ways were tantamount to "communism" and such thinking was a serious threat to Pakeha progress. As a judge told two men in possession of socialist literature, such ideas were bound to "upset the whole of civilisation...the penalty

should be a term of imprisonment" (5).

While it is granted that reference to "the evils of communism" as regards to Maori social organisation and the socialist labour movement in this country are separate historical and social phenomenon, they are, nevertheless, inter-related within the context of the overall economic agenda of "men of property". It could also be argued that the racialist sentiments which were expressed in the press against Hindus, Black Africans, Aborigines and Asians - examples of which have been given in the chronology - are also separate issues. The point is however that there is strong evidence, that in the media, the goal was always the same: the "ideal of a White New Zealand" as expressed in the Herald sub-editorial of 7 April 1921 entitled "Colour Line in Schools".

All the articles in the chronological list of excerpts were grist for the media mill which worked relentlessly to break down Maori society and alienate their lands and resources and place them in the hands of the "men of property". The dispossession of the Maori was justified and aided in part by articles of the kind excerpted in the chronological list as published by the general press in New Zealand.

FOOTNOTES:

1.) Section 46: World War One Customs and War Regulations

- 2.) Len Richardson, "Parties and Political Change", in the Oxford History of New Zealand , p.212
- 3.) Ibid
- 4.) Ibid
- 5.) New Zealand Herald, Article "Banned Literature", 31 March 1921

BIBLIOGRAPHY

A: PRIMARY SOURCES

Unpublished Papers and Letters:

Alexander Turnbull Library Curator: relating to the modern view of the racialistic nature of artist Trevor Lloyd's Maori Socio-political cartoon satire of material held by that institution. Dated 12 May 1992.

Collection of personal letters and cartoons from Artist Trevor Lloyd to his daughter Constance Lloyd. These were posted from Auckland to Melbourne Australia and were dated between 27 March 1924 and 15 October 1924.

Bryant (nee Lloyd), Violet May - (Artist Trevor Lloyd's first niece)- "Maranui" Manaia, a 171 page autobiography of her life in Taranaki from 1900 including the role which Trevor Lloyd played in life there and her own recollections of Lloyd's artistic works, attitudes toward Maori, cartooning and Wilson and Horton. An endorsement from author Dick Scott (Ask That Mountain) dated 29 June 1990 on the historical accuracy of the work accompanies the manuscript.

Cormack, Syd (Kai Tahu elder), in a personal letter to this writer regarding interpretations and cultural contexts of the haka, 17 June 1992

Contemporarily based Oral Evidence:

Taped interviews with Mrs. Violet May (Lloyd) Bryant, born 1899. Mrs. Bryant is the only living person to have personally known cartoonist Trevor Lloyd intimately. Mrs. Bryant was Lloyd's first niece and she corroborated, corrected or added a different perspective to historically documented information concerning her uncle and his work as well as his attitude towards the Maori. She also gave her point of view on Lloyd's relationship with his employers, Wilson and Horton.

Other Contemporary Material:

Cliff Anderson Collection: Original Trevor Lloyd Postcards and handwritten texts thereon. All issued circa 1905 to 1915.

Auckland Institute and Museum Collection: socio-political ephemera relating to Trevor Lloyd, Maori peoples and the Auckland Weekly News.

G. Vince MacDonald Collection: Original Trevor Lloyd and real photograph postcards of Maori subjects of the period 1900 to 1935 along with accompanying handwritten texts.

Alexander Turnbull Library Ephemera Collection: relating to artist Trevor Lloyd.

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